



06704185

REPORTS
A. F. of L.

1881

1888

331.06

Am3p

PROCEEDINGS
of the AMERICAN
FEDERATION
OF LABOR

1881 . . . 1882 . . . 1883 . . . 1884
1885 . . . 1886 . . . 1887 . . . 1888

LIBRARY
UNIV OF TEXAS
Reprinted in 1906



PANTAGRAPH PRINTING AND STATIONERY CO.
BLOOMINGTON, ILLINOIS

134838

LIBRARY
UNIV OF TEXAS

Report of the First Annual Session

OF THE

Federation of Organized Trades and Labor
Unions of the United States
and Canada

HELD IN

PITTSBURG, PENNSYLVANIA

December 15, 16, 17 and 18

1881

Published by Authority of the Federation

PRICE TEN CENTS

FEDERATION
OF
Organized Trades and Labor Unions
OF THE
UNITED STATES AND CANADA.

Declaration of Principles.

PREAMBLE.

WHEREAS, A struggle is going on in the nations of the civilized world between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries; a struggle between capital and labor, which must grow in intensity from year to year and work disastrous results to the toiling millions of all nations if not combined for mutual protection and benefit. The history of the wage-workers of all countries is but the history of constant struggle and misery engendered by ignorance and disunion; whereas the history of the non-producers of all ages proves that a minority, thoroughly organized, may work wonders for good or evil. It behooves the representatives of the workers of North America, in Congress assembled, to adopt such measures and disseminate such principles among the people of our country as will unite them for all time to come, to secure the recognition of the rights to which they are justly entitled. Conforming to the old adage, "In union there is strength," the formation of a Federation embracing every trade and labor organization in North America, a union founded upon a basis as broad as the land we live in, is our only hope. The past history of Trades Unions proves that small organizations, well conducted, have accomplished great good, but their efforts have not been of that lasting character which a thorough unification of all the different branches of industrial workers is bound to secure.

Conforming to the spirit of the times and the necessities of the industrial classes, we make the following:

PLATFORM.

1. RESOLVED, That an organization of workmen into what is known as a Trades or Labor Union should have the right to the protection of their property in like manner as the property of all other persons and societies, and to accomplish this purpose we insist upon the passage of laws in the State Legislatures and in Congress for the incorporation of

Trades Unions and similar labor organizations.

2. That we are in favor of the passage of such Legislative enactments as will enforce, by compulsion, the education of children; that if the State has the right to exact certain compliance with its demands, then it is also the right of the State to educate its people to the proper understanding of such demands.

3. That we are in favor of the passage of laws in the several States forbidding the employment of children under the age of fourteen years in any capacity, under penalty of fine and imprisonment.

4. That necessity demands the enactment of uniform apprentice laws throughout the country; that the apprentice to a mechanical trade may be made to serve a sufficient term of apprenticeship, from three to five years, and that he be provided by his employer, in his progress to maturity, with proper and sufficient facilities to finish him as a competent workman.

5. That the National Eight Hour law is one intended to benefit labor and to relieve it partly of its heavy burdens; that the evasion of its true spirit and intent is contrary to the best interests of the Nation; we therefore demand the enforcement of said law in the spirit of its designers.

6. That it is hereby declared the sense of this Congress that convict or prison labor, as applied to the contract system in several of the States, is a species of slavery in its worst form; that it pauperizes labor, demoralizes the honest manufacturer and degrades the very criminal whom it employs; that, as many articles of use and consumption made in our prisons under the contract system come directly and detrimentally in competition with the products of honest labor, we demand that the laws providing for labor under the contract system herein complained of be repealed, so as to discontinue the manufacture of all articles which will compete with those of the honest mechanic or workman.

7. That what is known as the "order" or "truck" system of payment, instead of lawful currency as a value for labor performed, is one not only of gross imposition, but of downright swindle to the honest laborer and me-

chanic, and calls for entire abolition, and we recommended that active measures shall be enforced to eradicate the evil by the passage of laws imposing fine and imprisonment upon all individuals, firms or corporations who continue to practice the same.

8. That we favor the passage of such laws as will secure to the mechanic and workman the first lien upon property the product of his labor, sufficient in all cases to justify his legal and just claims; that proper provisions be made for legally recovering the same.

9. That we demand the repeal and erasure from the statute books of all acts known as conspiracy laws, as applied to organizations of labor in the regulation or wages and the number of hours which shall constitute a day's work.

10. That we recognize the wholesome effects of a Bureau of Labor Statistics as created in several States, and we urge upon our friends in Congress the passage of an act establishing a National Bureau of Labor Statistics, and recommend for its management the appointment of a proper person, identified with the laboring classes of the country.

11. That we recommend to the Congress of the United States the adoption of such laws as shall give to every American industry full protection from the cheap labor of foreign countries.

12. That we demand the passage of a law by the United States Congress to prevent the importation of foreign laborers under contract.

13. That we recommend all trades and labor organizations to secure proper representation in all law-making bodies by means of the ballot, and to use all honorable measures by which this result can be accomplished.

SUPPLEMENTARY RESOLUTIONS.

1. WHEREAS, The experience of the last thirty years in California and on the Pacific Coast having proved conclusively that the presence of Chinese, and their competition with free white labor, is one of the greatest evils with which any country can be afflicted; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we use our best efforts to get rid of this monstrous evil (which threatens, unless checked, to extend to other parts of the Union) by the dissemination of information respecting its true character, and by urging upon our representatives in the United States Congress the absolute necessity of passing laws entirely prohibiting the immigration of Chinese into the United States.

2. That we urge upon the Legislature of our several States the passage of laws of license upon stationary engineers, and the enforcement of proper restrictions which will better preserve and render protection to life and property.

3. That we demand strict laws for the inspection and ventilation of mines, factories, and work-shops, and sanitary supervision of all food and dwellings.

4. That stricter laws be enacted, making employers liable for all accidents resulting from their negligence or incompetency to the injury of their employees.

ORGANIZATIONS.

ARTICLE I.—NAME.

This association shall be known as "THE FEDERATION OF ORGANIZED TRADES AND LABOR UNIONS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND CANADA," and shall consist of such Trades and Labor Unions as shall, after being duly admitted, conform to its rules and regulations, and pay all contributions required to carry out the objects of this Federation.

ARTICLE II.—OBJECTS.

The object of this Federation shall be:

SECTION 1. The encouragement and formation of Trades and Labor Unions.

SEC. 2. The encouragement and formation of Trades and Labor Assemblies or Councils.

SEC. 3. The encouragement and formation of National and International Trades Unions.

SEC. 4. To secure legislation favorable to the interests of the industrial classes.

ARTICLE III.—SESSIONS.

The sessions of the Federation shall be held annually, on the third Tuesday in November, at such place as the delegates have selected at the preceding Congress.

ARTICLE IV.—REPRESENTATION.

The basis of representation in the Congress of this Federation shall be: From National or International Unions, for one thousand members or less, one delegate; for four thousand, two delegates; for eight thousand, three delegates; for sixteen thousand, four delegates; for thirty-two thousand, five delegates, and so on. From Local Trades Assemblies or Councils, one delegate.

ARTICLE V.—OFFICERS.

At the annual sessions of this Federation, the delegates shall elect a Legislative Committee consisting of five delegates, one of whom shall be the Federation Secretary, and who shall be elected separately.

ARTICLE VI.—DUTIES.

SECTION 1. The duties of the Legislative Committee shall be to exercise a supervision over the organization, and the execution of its laws, and to carry out such instructions as may, from time to time, be given them at the sessions of this Federation.

SEC. 2. The Legislative Committee shall choose from among themselves a Chairman, First and Second Vice-Chairman, and Treasurer for the ensuing year.

ARTICLE VII.—REVENUE.

The revenue of this Federation shall be derived from a capitation tax of three cents per member annually from each Trade and Labor Union, Trades Assembly or Council affiliated with this Federation, which shall be paid quarterly in advance.

ARTICLE VIII.—ACCOUNTS.

The accounts of the year shall be closed fourteen days prior to the assembling of the Congress, and a balance sheet duly certified and presented to the same.

ARTICLE IX.—REMUNERATION.

The remuneration for loss of time by the Legislative Committee shall be at the rate of three dollars per diem, traveling and incidental expenses to be also defrayed.

STANDING ORDER.

1. The annual meeting of this Federation shall be held on the third Tuesday in November, at such place as the delegates to the preceding Congress may have selected.

2. The time of meeting shall be as follows: On the first day, to assemble at noon; on all other days, at 9 A. M.; adjourn at 12:30; reassemble at 1:30 and adjourn at 5 P. M. each day.

3. At the opening of the Congress the chairman of the Legislative Committee shall take the chair until the Congress has elected its own President, which shall be its first business. The Congress shall then elect a Vice-President, two Secretaries, two Auditors, a Doorkeeper and Messenger.

4. A Standing Order Committee shall then be elected, to whom shall be remitted the whole business of the Congress, the discussions, together with the whole financial arrangements of the Congress.

5. The Congress having been formally opened by the President, the Legislative Committee shall present their report for the past year, which shall be read by the Secretary, and shall be laid on the table for discussion by the Congress; said report shall contain a list of the Committee meetings, with dates and names of those present.

6. The reader of a paper shall be allowed twenty minutes; the mover of a resolution fifteen minutes; succeeding speakers ten minutes each. No one to speak more than once on any one subject.

7. No second amendment to an original proposition shall be put to a vote until the amendment is disposed of.

8. No papers shall be read except those which are required for legislative purposes; no member to read more than one paper.

9. All papers shall be sent to the Secretary of the Legislative Committee at least two weeks before the meeting of the ensuing Congress.

gress, the same to be read and arranged by the Committee to facilitate the business of the Congress.

10. The Secretary, who shall also be Secretary of the Legislative Committee, shall be elected at the annual Congress. Should a vacancy occur between the annual meetings of the Congress, the Legislative Committee shall have power to fill the vacancy.

11. The duties of the Legislative Committee shall be to watch legislative measures directly affecting the question of labor; to initiate, whenever necessary, such legislative action as the Congress may direct, or as the exigencies of the time and circumstances may demand.

12. No candidate shall be elected on the Legislative Committee unless he is a delegate from his own trade society or represents a Trades Council, and the body so represented must have contributed its capitation tax during the year previous to his nomination. In no case shall two members of one trade be elected on the Committee.

13. All surplus moneys, after the payment of the expenses of the Congress, shall be handed over to the Treasurer of the Legislative Committee for the general purposes of such Committee.

14. The Legislative Committee shall assist and co-operate with the Local Committee of the city where the next Congress is to be held, for the purpose of making the arrangements as complete as possible, and preparing the questions to be discussed, and together to take such joint action as their business, or other special circumstances of the time, may render necessary or desirable.

15. A sub-committee of the Legislative Committee shall meet a week before the meeting of each Congress, to arrange matters for the Congress.

16. That in the case of any amendment of the Standing Orders of the Congress being desired by any society or delegate, it shall be necessary for every such proposed amendment to be forwarded to the Legislative Committee at least one month before the meeting of the Congress.

17. The Legislative Committee shall be members of the succeeding Congress, from which they have been credited, but without a vote.

REPORT. FIRST DAY—Morning Session.

Pittsburg, November 15, 1881.

The International Trades and Labor Congress convened in Turner Hall, Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, at 2 P. M. of the above date, pursuant to the call issued by the preliminary Congress, held in Terre Haute, Indiana, on August 2d and 3d, 1881, for the purpose of forming an International Federation of Trades and Labor Unions.

The Congress was called to order by Lyman A. Brant, Detroit, Michigan, representing the International Typographical Union, and Chairman of the Standing Committee appointed by the Terre Haute Convention.

Prayer was offered by Mr. K. Mackenzie, of the Bookbinders' Union, of New York.

Mr. Brant read the following:

INTERNATIONAL TRADES UNION CONGRESS.

To all Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada:

Fellow Workmen: The time has now arrived for a more perfect combination of Labor—one that will concentrate our forces so as to more successfully cope with concentrated capital.

We have numberless trades unions, trades assemblies or councils, and various other local, national and international labor unions, all engaged in the noble task of elevating and improving the condition of the working classes. But, great as has been the work done by these bodies, there is vastly more that can be done by a combination of all these organizations in a federation of trades.

In Great Britain and Ireland annual trades union congresses are held; France and other countries have, also, similar gatherings. The work done by these assemblages of workmen speaks more in their favor than a volume of other arguments.

Only in such a body can proper action be taken to promote the general welfare of the industrial classes. There we can discuss and examine all questions affecting the national interests of each and every trade, and by a combination of forces secure that justice which isolated and separated trade and labor unions can never fully command.

A National Trades Union Congress can prepare labor measures and agree upon laws they desire passed by the Congress of the United States; and a Congressional Labor Committee, after the manner of the Parliamentary Committees of Trades Unions in England, could be elected to urge and advance legislation at Washington on all such measures, and report to the various trades.

In addition to this, an annual congress of trades unions could organize a systematic agi-

tation to propagate trades union principles, and to impress the necessity of protective trade and labor organizations, and to encourage the formation of such unions and their amalgamation in trades assemblies. Thus we could elevate trades unionism and obtain for the working classes that respect for their rights, and that reward for their services, to which they are justly entitled.

A federation of this character can be organized with a few simple rules and no salaried officers. The expenses of its management will be trivial and can be provided for by the Trades Union Congress.

Impressed with the necessity of such a federation, and the importance of an International Trades Union Congress to perfect the organization, we the undersigned, delegates, in a preliminary national convention, assembled at Terre Haute, Indiana, held August 2, 1881, do hereby resolve to issue the following call:

That all international and national unions, trades assemblies or councils, and local trades or labor unions are hereby invited to send delegates to an International Trades Union Congress, to be held in Pittsburg, Pa., on Tuesday, November 15, 1881. Each local union will be entitled to one delegate for one hundred members or less, and one additional delegate for each additional five hundred members or major part thereof; also, one delegate for each international or national union, and one delegate for each trades assembly or council.

J. E. COUGHLIN, President National Tanners' and Curriers' Union.

E. POWERS, Gen. Pres't Lake Seamen's Union.

LYMAN A. BRANT, International Typographical Union.

P. J. McGUIRE, St. Louis Trades and Labor Assembly.

T. THOMPSON, I. M. U., Dayton, O.

GEORGE W. OSBORN, I. M. U., of Springfield, O.

W. C. POLLNER, Cleveland Trades Assembly.

SAM'L L. LEFFINGWELL, Indianapolis Trades Assembly.

J. R. BACKUS, Terre Haute Amalgamated Labor Union.

The following gentlemen have also sent in their names as indorsers of the call:

GEORGE CLARK, President International Typographical Union.

P. F. FITZPATRICK, President Iron Molders' Union of America.

JOHN KINNEAR, Pres't Central Trades and Labor Assembly, Boston.

GEORGE RODGERS, President Chicago Trades Assembly.

Note.—Several large and influential Labor Unions, such as the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, International Cigar Makers, National Granite Cutters, National Mule Spinners, International Typographical, and others, as well as numberless large

local unions, assure us that they will be represented. I think each and all should heartily work to push any movement looking to the solidifying of our labor associations into an International Congress—a Congress of Workers of the New World. "When Capital combines, LABOR must Amalgamate." Agitate! Educate! Consolidate!

MARK. W. MOORE, Cor. Sec'y and Treas., 230 N. 12th Street. Terre Haute, Ind., Sept. 15, 1881.

Mr. Brant then announced that the first order of business would be the election of a Temporary Chairman, and declared the meeting open for nominations.

Mr. H. S. Streat, representing Typographical Union No. 16, Chicago, nominated John Jarrett, President of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers of the United States and Canada, who was elected by acclamation.

Mr. Jarrett, on taking the chair, thanked the Congress for the honor conferred, and declared that he appreciated fully the honor of presiding over such a body, if only for a few minutes. He expressed the hope that the deliberations of the Congress would be marked by harmony and good feeling, because of the importance of the work the delegates had come here to transact. He had no doubt of the good that would follow from the labors of the Congress, if truth should underlie and govern every act of the delegates. Truth, he claimed, should be the guide of the Congress, and if so, success would certainly crown the efforts that would be put forth to form a closer tie between the various labor organizations of the country.

Mr. Lyman A. Brant nominated for Secretary Mr. Mark L. Crawford, representing the Trades Assembly of Chicago, Illinois.

Mr. Alexander C. Rankin, of Pittsburg, representing Iron Molders' Union No. 14, nominated Mr. H. H. Bengough, representing Pittsburg Printers' Assembly N. 1630, Knights of Labor.

On motion the nominations for Secretary were closed.

Mr. Richard Powers, of Chicago, General President of the International Lake Seamen's Union, suggested, as there were only two nominees, that they should be chosen as Secretaries, with the addition of Mr. William C. Pollner, representing the Trades Assembly of Cleveland, Ohio, as the services of that gentleman would be valuable on account of his having been Secretary of the Terre Haute Convention.

The suggestion was accepted as a motion, and carried.

A Committee on Credentials, consisting of

one delegate from each State represented was, on motion of H. S. Streat, appointed, as follows:

Massachusetts—JOHN KINNEAR.
New York—KENNETH MACKENZIE.
Pennsylvania—ROBERT D. LAYTON.
Ohio—WILLIAM C. POLLNER.
Michigan—CHARLES D. LYNCH.
Illinois—PERRY G. SOMERS.
Missouri—A. MADERA.
California—C. F. BURGMAN.
Maryland—GUSTAV FOWITZ.
West Virginia—A. M. OWENS.
New Jersey—RICHARD EDMUNDS.
Indiana—SAM L. LEFFINGWELL.
Wisconsin—MIKE P. WALSH.

The Committee immediately retired to examine credentials and prepare a report.

During the absence of the Committee on Credentials the Congress went into an informal meeting for the purpose of listening to addresses on the subject of labor, and any remarks tending to the good of the meeting, though a motion following this prohibited any save delegates from exercising the right of the floor. Addresses of five and ten minutes were then made by the following: Alex. C. Rankin, of Pittsburg, representing Iron Molders' Union No. 14; Samuel Gompers, of New York, representing the International Cigar-makers' Union; W. G. McKean, of Erie Typographical Union No. 77; R. E. Weber, of Pittsburg, of the Printers' Assembly, Knights of Labor, and Richard Powers, of Chicago, President of the Lake Seamen's Union.

A motion was adopted requiring each delegate, on his name being announced by the Chairman of the Committee on Credentials, to answer to the call, and give the number of members in the organization represented by him. It was also arranged to provide each delegate, in the same order, with a ticket entitling him to a seat in the Congress.

The Committee on Credentials, through its chairman, Mr. Kinneare, reported as follows:

Your Committee on Credentials would most respectfully submit that they have examined the credentials of the following named delegates, and report favorably thereon:

DELEGATES AND SOCIETIES REPRESENTED.

CALIFORNIA.

1. Burgman, Charles F., 134 Fourth Street, San Francisco. Representative Assembly of the Pacific Coast Trades and Labor Unions.

ILLINOIS.

2. Betting, William, 733 North Avenue, Chicago. Cigarmaker's Protective Union No. 14, Chicago.

3. Crawford, Mark L., 77 Jackson Street, Chicago. Amalgamated Painters' Union of Chicago.

OHIO.

4. Dwyer, Leo. P., 178 West Taylor Street, Chicago. Amalgamated Painters' Union of Chicago.
5. Powers, Richard, 99 West Randolph Street, Chicago. Chicago Seamen's Benevolent Union.
6. Somers, Perry, G., Lock Box 847, Joliet, Illinois. Fourth District Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers.
7. Streat, H. S., 301 Wells Street, Chicago. Typographical Union No. 16, Chicago.

INDIANA.

8. Leffingwell, Sam. L., 36 1-2 West Washington Street, Indianapolis. Trades and Labor Assembly of Indianapolis and vicinity.

MARYLAND.

9. Fowitz, Gustav, Baltimore. Deutsch-Amerikanische Typographia (German-American Typographical Union).

MASSACHUSETTS.

10. Cummin, Sherman, Boston. Typographical Union No. 13, Boston.
11. Howard, Robert, Fall River. Cotton and Mule Spinners' Association, Fall River.
12. Kinnear, John, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Central Trades and Labor Union of Boston.

MICHIGAN.

13. Brant, Lyman A., 315 Third Street, Detroit. International Typographical Union.
14. Erb, Charles, 579 Dequindre Street, Detroit. Council of Trades and Labor Unions of Detroit.
15. Lynch, Charles D., 303 Michigan Ave., Detroit. Brass Finishers' and Molders' Protective Union No. 1, Detroit.

MISSOURI.

16. Madera A., 618 South Fourth Street, St. Louis. Trades and Labor Assembly of St. Louis.
17. Wilson, William, 122 North Third Street, St. Louis. Typographical Union No. 8, St. Louis.
18. Wind, E., 1621 Montgomery Street, St. Louis. Carpenters' Union Nos. 1, 2, and 3, St. Louis.

NEW JERSEY.

19. Edmund, Richard, Unionville, Gloucester County, New Jersey. District Assembly No. 2, Knights of Labor, Malaga.

NEW YORK.

20. Byrne, Michael, J., 406 Fargo Avenue, Buffalo. Operative Plasters' Union of Buffalo.
21. Cooke, George, Brooklyn. Amalgamated Society of Engineers, etc., Brooklyn Branch.
22. Gompers, Samuel, 85 Columbia Street, New York. Cigarmakers' International Union of America.
23. Kelley, John, 378 South Division Street, Buffalo. Unions' Assembly of Buffalo.
24. Klokke, Fred. J., 3 Union Wharf, Buffalo. Buffalo Branch of Chicago Seamen's Union.
25. Lynch, James, New York. Amalgamated Trades and Labor Union of New York and vicinity.
26. Mackenzie, Kenneth, New York. Book-binder's Protective Association of New York and vicinity.
27. *Moore, William, 381 Main Street, Buffalo. Boot and Shoemakers' Union of Buffalo.

*Credentials received subsequent to the committee's first report, but the names are inserted for convenience.

28. Foster, W. H., 14 Eastbourne Terrace, Cincinnati. Trades and Labor Assembly of Cincinnati and vicinity.
29. *Henneberry, Thomas, 11 Frankfort Street, Cleveland, Ohio. Coopers' International Union of North America.
30. Menke, George C., Marietta. Iron Molders' Union No. 207, Marietta.
31. Osborn, George W., 94 1-2 East Main Street, Springfield, O. Iron Molders' Union No. 72, Springfield, Ohio.
32. Pollner, William C., 101 Hicks Street, Cleveland, Ohio. Trades Assembly of Cleveland.
33. Shay, William J., 18 Public Landing, Cincinnati. National Marine Cooks' and Pastry Cooks' Association No. 1, Cincinnati.

PENNSYLVANIA.

34. Adams, John F., Window Glass Workers' L. A. 300, K. of L., Pittsburg, South Side.
35. Bengough, H. H., Labor Tribune Office, Pittsburg. Printer's Local Assembly 1630, Knights of Labor, Pittsburg.
36. *Brennan, W. J., Pittsburg, L. A. 791, K. of L., Pittsburg.
37. Carroll, Thomas, Pittsburg. Horse-shoers' L. A. 1886, K. of L., Pittsburg.
38. Cline, Isaac, executive Office, L. A. 300, Carson Street, Pittsburg, South Side. Window Glass Workers' L. A. 300, K. of L., Pittsburg, South Side.
39. Conway, Michael F., Pittsburg. Mjners' Association, Pittsburg District.
40. Cowan, Archibald, Coal Bluff, Washington county, Pennsylvania. L. A. 151 K. of L., Coal Bluff.
41. Cox, M. W., New Castle. Good Will Lodge No. 59, A. A. of I. and S. W., New Castle.
42. Crawford, Daniel, Pittsburg. Carpenters' and Joiners' L. A., 1498 K. of L., Pittsburg.
43. Crozier, James W., Pittsburg. L. A. 1632, K. of L., Pittsburg.
44. Cumming, Thomas, Allegheny. Carpenters' L. A. 1588, Allegheny City.
45. Davis, W. H., Pittsburg. Sligo Lodge No. 8, A. A. of I. and S. W., Pittsburg.
46. *Dolan, William, Pittsburg. Iron and Brass Molders' L. A. 1030, K. of L., Pittsburg.
47. Donahue, John W., Pittsburg. L. A. 1689, K. of L., Pittsburg.
48. Dovey, George, Pittsburg. Iron and Brass Molders' L. A. 1030, K. of L., Pittsburg.
49. Egan, M. D., Pittsburg. Stonecutters' Association of Allegheny county.
50. Evans W., Pittsburg. Harmony Lodge No. 18, A. A. of I. and S. W., Pittsburg.
51. Exler, John W., Pittsburg. Boilermakers' L. A. 1595 K. of L., Pittsburg.
52. Feese, John H., Pittsburg. Window Glass Workers' L. A. 300, Pittsburg, South Side.
53. *Fisher, D. A., Pittsburg. L. A. 1302, K. of L., Pittsburg.
54. Francis, David, Pittsburg. Window Glass Workers' L. A. 300, Pittsburg, South Side.
55. Gaw, R. R., Pittsburg. Tailor's L. A. 1620, K. of L., Pittsburg.
56. Grandison, Jeremiah, Pittsburg. L. A. 1665, K. of L., Pittsburg.
57. Gray John, West Elizabeth. L. A. 109, K. of L., West Elizabeth.

58. Gullyes, Robert, Pittsburg. L. A. 1548, K. of L., Pittsburg.
59. Hanigan, Patrick, Pittsburg. L. A. 1638, K. of L., Pittsburg.
60. *Hill, John, Pittsburg. Iron Molders' Union No. 243, Pittsburg.
61. *Hunter, Thomas J., Pittsburg. Carpenters' L. A. —, K. of L., Pittsburg, South Side.
62. Jarrett, John, 116 Smithfield Street, Pittsburg. National Lodge, A. A. of I. and S. W.
63. Kelly, John M., Pittsburg. Friendship Lodge No. 50, A. A. of I. and S. W., Pittsburg.
64. Kugelmaier, Jacob, Pittsburg. L. A. 1534, K. of L., Pittsburg.
65. *Layton, R. D., P. O. Box 870, Pittsburg. Third District K. of L.
66. Lucker, D., Pittsburg. L. A. 1397, K. of L., Pittsburg.
67. McBride, Thomas, J., Pittsburg. Iron and Brass Molders' L. A. 1030, K. of L., Pittsburg.
68. McClure, Joseph, Pittsburg. Cigarmakers' L. A. 1374, K. of L., Pittsburg.
69. McGill, Michael, Pittsburg. L. A. 1606, K. of L., Pittsburg.
70. *McConnell, Thomas J., Pittsburg. Pattern-Makers' L. A. 1302, K. of L., Pittsburg.
71. McIver, M., Pittsburg. Stonemasons' L. A. 1621, K. of L., Pittsburg.
72. McKean, William G., Erie. Typographical Union No. 77, Erie.
73. *McMasters, Thomas, Pittsburg. L. A. 1525, K. of L., Pittsburg.
74. *McWilliams, Alexander McK., Dispatch Office, Pittsburg. Typographical Union No. 7, Pittsburg.
75. Maloy, James, Soho Lodge No. 70, A. A. of I. and S. W., Pittsburg.
76. Meagher, John, Erie. Iron Molders' Union No. 38, Erie.
77. Michels, James, Pittsburg. Window Glass Workers' L. A. 300, K. of L., Pittsburg, South Side.
78. *Moore, C. T., Pittsburg. L. A. 1575, K. of L., Pittsburg.
79. Morgan, David W., Pittsburg. L. A. 1477, K. of L., Pittsburg.
80. Morgan, John J., Allegheny. Bishop Lodge No. 38, A. A. of I. and S. W., Allegheny City.
81. Pollitt, William, Pittsburg. Glass Packers' L. A. 1653, K. of L., Pittsburg, South Side.
82. Powell, Eli, Pittsburg. Engineers' L. A. 1536, K. of L., Pittsburg.
83. Rankin, Alexander C., 61 Robinson Street, Allegheny. Iron Molders' Union No. 14, Pittsburg.
84. Reibenstein, Theo. Allegheny. Tanners' and Carriers' L. A. 1447, K. of L., Allegheny City.
85. Riley, J. M., Pittsburg. L. A. —, K. of L., Pittsburg.
86. Rennel, Valentine, Pittsburg. Chimney Glass Blowers' L. A. 319, K. of L., Pittsburg.
87. Rodgers, Daniel, Pittsburg. Miner's Association, Pittsburg District.
88. Rodgers, M. T., Pittsburg. Plumbers' L. A. 1659, K. of L., Pittsburg.
89. Sennett, J. C., P. O. Box 301, Beaver Falls. Iron Moulders' Union No. 217, Beaver Falls.
90. Shattuck, John S., Beaver Falls. L. A. 1569, K. of L., Beaver Falls.

91. Sheers, James, Pittsburg. Victory Lodge No. 33, A. A. of I. and S. W., Pittsburg.
92. Shuttinger, John F., Pittsburg. Carpenters' L. A. 1705, K. of L., Pittsburg.
93. *Slicker, W. H., Pittsburg. Window Glass Workers' L. A. 300, K. of L., Pittsburg, South Side.
94. Smith, Joseph B., Allegheny. Bricklayers' L. A. 1627, K. of L., Allegheny City.
95. Smith, M. H., Pittsburg. Grainers' Union, Pittsburg.
96. Staub, John, Pittsburg. Ever Faithful Lodge No. 51, A. A. of I. and S. W., Pittsburg.
97. Stewart, Andrew, Allegheny. Allegheny Lodge No. 14, A. A. of I. and S. W., Allegheny City.
98. Sullivan, J. W., Pittsburg. Coopers' L. A. 1662, K. of L., Pittsburg.
99. Thomas, D. H., Houtzdale, Clearfield county, Pennsylvania. Miners' Association, Clearfield District.
100. Towelson, Charles A., Pittsburg. Sheffield Lodge No. 72, A. A. of I. and S. W., Pittsburg.
101. Weber, R. E., Pittsburg. Printers' L. A. 1630, K. of L., Pittsburg.
102. Woodhall, George, Brownsville. L. A. 1610, K. of L., Brownsville.

RHODE ISLAND.

103. Thompson, John J., Westerly, Rhode Island. Granite Cutters' National Union.

WEST VIRGINIA.

104. Owens, A. M., Clarksburg. D. A. 39, K. of L., Clarksburg.
105. Rigg, Charles, Cannelton. Miners' Association, Cannelton.
106. Robertson, Richard, Wheeling. L. A. 1551, K. of L., Wheeling.

WISCONSIN.

107. Walsh, Michael, P., Milwaukee. Trades Assembly of Milwaukee and vicinity.

The report, signed by the entire Committee on Credentials, was adopted, and the committee continued.

The Committee on Credentials made a special report in the case of the double representation of the International Typographical Union, and recommended that, inasmuch as the organization was represented by Mr. L. A. Brant, of Detroit, who was a member of the Terre Haute convention, Mr. Thomas Brennan, holding a credential from the same body, be entitled to a seat on the floor of the Congress without a vote. Mr. Thomas Henneberry, President of the International Coopers' Union, was granted a like privilege.

Through the negligence of the proper officers to provide the necessary credential, Mr. R. D. Layton, General Secretary of the Knights of Labor, representing District No. 3, was present without such document, but, his election being vouched for by several delegates, their statements were, on motion, accepted in lieu of a credential, and Mr. Layton admitted to a seat.

A representation having been made by President Isaac Cline, of the Window Glass Work-

ers' Assembly No. 300, that said organization had authorized him to substitute a member to serve as delegate to the Congress, in the event of failure or inability of the elected representative to serve, on motion he was permitted to substitute W. H. Slicker for J. T. Adams, as delegate from that body.

On motion, a Committee on Permanent Organization was appointed, consisting of one delegate from each of the States represented, as follows: Massachusetts, Robert Howard; New York, James Lynch; New Jersey, R. Edmunds; Ohio, W. H. Foster; Michigan, L. A. Brant; Wisconsin, M. P. Walsh; West Virginia, R. Robertson; Missouri, E. Wind; Pennsylvania, R. E. Weber; Maryland, Gustave Fowitz; Illinois, H. S. Streat; Indiana, Sam. L. Leffingwell; California, C. F. Burgman.

A resolution was offered and adopted fixing the hours of the sessions of the Congress from 8 o'clock a. m. to 12 m. and from 1 p. m. to 5 p. m.

On motion it was agreed to hold an informal meeting of the delegates, at 8 p. m. the same day, at Turner Hall, for the purpose of interchanging ideas on the labor question.

A motion was offered and adopted that each State delegate select a representative to serve on the Committee on Resolutions and Platform of Principles.

The following preamble and resolution was offered by J. S. Shattuck, of Beaver Falls:

WHEREAS, the united labor organizations of Western Pennsylvania, Eastern Ohio, and West Virginia have, by unanimous resolutions, denounced the proprietors of the *Pittsburg Evening and Sunday Leader*, *Daily Post* and

Times, for their unjust and unwarranted action in discharging from their employment competent and faithful Union printers, and employing in their stead imported "Rats," therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of representatives of organized labor of this country, recognizing the importance of keeping the public press square on the labor question, do hereby ratify the action of the organizations referred to, and in order that the determined opposition by said journals against organized labor may be further condemned, the representatives of the above Pittsburg papers, viz., the *Leader*, *Post* and *Times*, be debarred from seats upon the platform with the representatives of honorable and fair journals.

Mr. Shattuck sustained the resolution by a short but spirited address, alluding to the Union printers of Pittsburg in a commendable manner. He was followed in support of the resolutions by R. E. Weber, a member of the Printers' Assembly, who reviewed the contest that had been going on between the printers and the papers referred to in the resolution. Mr. Weber paid a compliment to the fair journals and expressed the hope that the time was not far distant when the newspapers opposed to Union men and Union principles would see the error of their course, and fall into line with the honorable and fair-dealing establishments of the city.

Alex. C. Rankin also defended the course pursued by the printers, and urged the adoption of the resolution.

The resolution was then placed to a vote and adopted.

Adjourned to meet at 8 o'clock next morning.

delegates opposed to Socialism are determined not to be controlled by it. If the Socialists do not have their own way, they may bolt, as they have always done in the past. If they do bolt, the power of the proposed organization will be so seriously crippled as to almost destroy its usefulness.

Mr. M. P. Walsh, of Wisconsin, rising to a personal explanation, said that the western delegates had been accused of instigating the publication of the slander referred to, but disclaimed their having any connection with it; their first knowledge of it being that morning, on seeing the newspaper referred to.

Mr. James Lynch, of New York, stated that now, as the coming report of the Committee on

Permanent Organization had leaked out, he was desirous of placing Mr. Gompers square before the Congress. As a member of that committee, he had urged the selection of Mr. Gompers as Permanent President without the knowledge or consent of that gentleman, and paid a high tribute to his ability and strict unionism.

Chairman Robert Howard submitted the following, as the report of the Committee on Permanent Organization:

Pittsburg, Nov. 16, 1881

To the Temporary Officers and Delegates of the International Trades Union Congress:

Gentlemen—In accordance with the duty imposed on us, your Committee on Permanent Organization met last night. After due deliberation, your committee agreed to recommend that the permanent officers of the Congress shall consist of a President, Secretary, and Assistant Secretary. The delegates recommended for these offices by your committee are as follows:

For President—Samuel Gompers, of New York, representing the Cigarmakers' International Union.

For Secretary—William Wilson, of St. Louis Typographical Union No. 8.

For Assistant Secretary—H. H. Bengough, of Local Assembly No. 1630.

Signed for Committee,
ROBERT HOWARD, Chairman.
W. H. FOSTER, Secretary.

Mr. H. S. Streat offered a minority report as follows:

Pittsburg, Pa., Nov. 16, 1881.

To the Temporary Officers and Delegates of the Labor Congress:

Gentlemen—We, the undersigned, differing from the adopted report of the Committee on Permanent organization, would respectfully report as follows:

For President—Richard Powers, of the Lake Seamen's Union, Chicago.

First Vice-President, Robert Howard, of Spinners' Union, Fall River, Mass.

Second Vice-President—William Wilson, of Printers' Union, St. Louis, Mo.

Secretary—R. E. Weber, of Printers' Assembly No. 1630, Pittsburg.

First Assistant Secretary—Michael J. Byrne, Buffalo, New York.

Second Assistant Secretary—W. C. Pollner, of the Cleveland Trades Assembly.

Respectfully submitted,

H. S. STREAT,
C. F. BURGMAN,
M. P. WALSH,
RICHARD EDMUNDS,
GUSTAV FOWITZ.

On motion, both reports were received in the order reported, and laid on the table.

Mr. Jarrett was then nominated for Permanent President by Mr. Maloy, of Pittsburg, who claimed that the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel workers should have a representative among the permanent officers.

Mr. Powers thought, as the Congress was as-

sembled in the interest of labor of all kinds, that the question as to what organization the officers belonged should not be taken into consideration, but that all should work together, hand in hand, and let the officers command the respect and attention of all.

Mr. Rankin concurred in Mr. Powers' views, and remarked that Pittsburg had not put forth any candidate for President, though labor organizations were as numerous and strong there as anywhere else.

Mr. Walsh nominated Mr. Powers, and claimed that a great work was to be done in the west in organizing the trades there, and he knew of no man so well qualified for the work as Mr. Powers. He hoped the Congress would honor the gentleman he had suggested by selecting him as permanent presiding officer of the body.

Mr. Lynch, of New York, nominated Mr. Gompers, as being a man in every manner eminently qualified for the position.

Messrs. Gompers and Powers withdrew their names as candidates for the chair in favor of Mr. Jarrett, who was, on motion, unanimously chosen Permanent Chairman of the Congress.

Mr. McClurg, of Pittsburg, moved that Messrs. Gompers and Powers be chosen as Vice-Presidents of the Congress, which was unanimously agreed to.

By a unanimous vote, the Temporary Secretaries, Messrs. Crawford, Bengough, and Pollner, were made permanent.

The resolution creating the Committee on Resolutions and Platform of Principles was, on motion, reconsidered. After striking out the words "Resolutions and," the original resolution was adopted.

The committee called for by said resolution was then chosen, one member from each State, as follows:

Indiana—SAMUEL L. LEFFINGWELL.
Wisconsin—M. P. WALSH.
New Jersey—RICHARD EDMUNDS.
Maryland—GUSTAV FOWITZ.
Massachusetts—HERMAN CUMMIN.
New York—MICHAEL J. BYRNE.
Pennsylvania—ALEXANDER C. RANKIN.
Michigan—LYMAN A. BRANT.
Illinois—LEO P. DWYER.
Ohio—GEORGE W. OSBORN.
West Virginia—RICHARD ROBERTSON.
Missouri—A. MADERA.
Roode Island—J. J. THOMPSON.
California—CHARLES F. BURGMAN.

A delegate announced, from the floor, that a reporter of the *Evening Leader* was present, taking notes. He retired from the hall at the request of the Chair.

SECOND DAY—Morning Session.

The Congress was called to order by President Jarrett.

The minutes of the previous day were read and confirmed.

Mr. Gompers requested the floor, to make a personal explanation, and asked that the following extract from the *Pittsburg Commercial-Gazette* be read.

The latter [Mr. Gompers] is the leader of the Socialistic element, which is pretty well represented in the Congress, and one of the smartest men present. It is thought that an attempt will be made to capture the organization for Mr. Gompers [for Permanent President] as the representative of the Socialists, and if such an attempt is made, whether it succeeds or not, there will likely be some lively work, as the

It was ordered that, on a call of the States, the delegates should, in turn, read any papers or resolutions they had prepared or been instructed to introduce, and that the same be referred, without debate, to the Committee on Platform of Principles.

On the States being called, delegates responded from New York, Illinois, California, and Pennsylvania. (As many of the documents read were afterwards embodied in the Platform, all such are omitted in this part of the Report.)

Mr. Powers read a bill which he desired the Congress to petition the Congress of the United States to enact. Its objects were for the better regulation of the merchant marine service, both in internal waters and inter-oceanic commerce, and the protection of life and property on vessels.

Mr. Burgman read a method of organization which had received the unanimous approval of the Representative Assembly of

Trades and Labor Unions of the Pacific Coast. It recommended the Unions of kindred occupations, in addition to maintaining their separate organizations, to amalgamate under heads, as follows: Iron Trade, Building Trade, Printing Trade, Leather Trade, Clothing Trade, and Purveyors. Each amalgamated association to choose delegates to a National Council of Federated Trades, whose duties should be simply executive.

Mr. Exler read a paper condemning button-set rivets in boilers as unreliable, and the cause of so-called accidents.

Delegate J. W. Crozier, of Pennsylvania, presented resolutions of sympathy with the people of Ireland in their efforts to free themselves from British oppression, and moved that the rules be suspended and the resolutions adopted.

The hour of adjournment having arrived while the above resolution was pending, the Congress stood adjourned until 1 P. M.

SECOND DAY—Afternoon Session.

The Congress convened at 1 P. M., President Jarrett in the chair.

The reading of the minutes of the morning session was, on motion, dispensed with.

The re-reading of the resolution with regard to Ireland was ordered. A lengthy discussion ensued on the motion to suspend the rules. It was finally agreed to refer the resolution to a Special Committee of five, appointed by the Chair, as follows: Messrs. J. W. Crozier, George Dovey, Sherman Cummin, John Kinneer, and W. G. McKean.

The regular order being called, the reading of resolutions, by delegates from Pennsylvania, was continued.

Delegate Daniel Rogers, of the Miners' Association, introduced resolutions demanding the abolition of the truck system, reduction of the number of working hours, and the enforcement of all laws relating to mines and miners. He asked that the Congress adopt them at once without referring, which was done. (See Platform and Supplementary Resolutions.)

The same course was taken with the following resolution, introduced by the same gentleman:

WHEREAS, This Congress learns with great sorrow of the death of Alexander Macdonald, M. P., of Great Britain, and realizes that a heavy loss has befallen the cause of Labor

throughout the world by reason of his death; therefore

RESOLVED, That a letter of condolence be sent to the Miners' National Union of Great Britain, signed by the officers of this Congress.

A motion was adopted that the chair appoint a Committee of five on Plan of Organization. Messrs. Compers, Brant, Howard, Somers, and James Lynch were appointed as such Committee.

On motion, a Committee on Rules was appointed, consisting of Messrs. Powers, D. Rogers, and Betting.

Messrs. Slicker and McClurg were appointed Sergeants-at-Arms, in compliance with a motion ordering the appointment of such officers.

The Committee on Rules made the following report, which was adopted.

RULES.

1. At the appointed time the Chairman shall call the Congress to order.
2. During the hours of meeting no delegate will be allowed to leave the room, unless on special business.
3. Every delegate, when he rises to speak, shall respectfully address the Chair. While

REPORT.

Terre Haute, Ind., Nov. 12, 1881.

To the Officers of the International Trades Union Congress and Delegates:

Gentlemen: As Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer of the Committee of Arrangements for this Congress, I herewith submit my report:

1. The Committee, consisting of Lyman A. Brant, Chairman, of Detroit, Mich.; W. C. Pollner, of Cleveland Trades Assembly; Mark L. Crawford, of Chicago Trades Assembly; P. J. McGuire, of St. Louis Trades Assembly; and Mark W. Moore, held a meeting at the National Hotel, in this city, Aug. 3, 1881, and organized by electing L. A. Brant Chairman, and M. W. Moore Secretary. I transmit with this report the minutes of the meeting.

2. I also send the minutes of the meeting held on Aug. 2, in this city, by which the above Committee was appointed. This will give you the history up to Aug. 2.

3. On the 3d of August, I communicated with the annual meeting of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, then in session at Cleveland, the result of which was the election of Mr. John Jarrett as a delegate to represent that grand organization at large.

4. On the 5th of August, I began sending the call out, for the purpose of securing signatures to the same, and also wrote letters to the prominent Trades Unionists throughout the country, asking their opinion of the movement for a Congress of Labor. I found that all were in favor of the undertaking, while many were enthusiastic over the subject. Mr. P. F. Fitzpatrick, President of Iron Molders' Union of North America, was the first to respond to the call for signatures. Geo. Clark, of International Typographical Union, came next. Then followed Kinneer, of Boston Trades and Labor Assembly, and Geo. Rogers, of Chicago, at which time, it being the 15th of September, the call was issued, of which I send a copy. The President of the St. Louis Trades Assembly afterward sent in his signature to the call, but too late. However, all those who should have signed the call received it.

5. Success seemed to have set her seal on the efforts put forth from the beginning. My letter circular, asking for means to carry on the correspondence, issue circulars, advertise in papers in places where there were no labor papers, and to cover the incidental expenses of Secretary and Treasurer, was sent to all organizations to whom the call was mailed. The response, at first, was slow; but, by advancing money and collections, I managed to keep up with the work. Day by day, the correspondence grew heavier, the endorsements more numerous, and the work of the office, at last, during the latter part of September and first part of October, became so heavy that it required my constant attention. I am glad to know, however, that the work has not been done in vain, as you will see by the large number of delegates. I have sent out over 2,000 copies of the call (three editions), putting the same before every Union in the United States and Canada of which I could obtain any information. A large number of local Unions have answered that, although they could not be to the expense of electing a delegate and sending him to Pittsburgh, they did most heartily concur in the movement. My greatest drawback is the neglect of working-

speaking, he shall confine himself to the question.

4. Should two or more rise to speak at the same time, the chair shall decide who is entitled to the floor.

5. No delegate shall interrupt another in his remarks, unless to call him to order for words spoken, or for the purpose of explanation.

6. If a delegate, while speaking, be called to order, he shall, at the request of the Chair, take his seat until the question of order is determined, when, if permitted, he may proceed again.

7. A delegate shall not speak more than once on the same subject, or question, until all who wish to speak shall have had an opportunity to do so, nor more than twice without permission from the house, nor any longer than five minutes at one time.

8. A question shall not be subject to debate until it has been seconded and stated from the Chair, and it shall be reduced to writing at the request of any member.

9. When a question is before the house, no motion shall be in order, except to adjourn, for the previous question, to postpone indefinitely, to postpone for a certain time, to divide, to commit, or to amend; which motions shall severally have precedence in the order herein arranged.

10. On the call of (7) seven delegates, debate shall cease, and a vote be taken on the motion or question under debate.

11. A motion to lay on the table shall be put without debate.

12. A motion for a reconsideration shall not be received unless made in the same session by a delegate who voted in the majority.

13. Any delegate who shall misbehave himself in the meeting, or disturb the harmony or order thereof, either by abusive, disorderly, or profane language, or shall refuse obedience to the presiding officer, shall be admonished of his offense from the Chair, and, if he offend again, he shall be excluded from the room for the session, and afterward dealt with as the Congress may determine.

Mr. Wilson, of St. Louis, called for the report of the transactions of Mark W. Moore, Secretary of the General Committee of the Terre Haute Convention, who failed to put in appearance at the present Congress.

The Secretary read the following report, which had been forwarded by Mr. Moore.

men in answering correspondence. They seem to infer that the letter is sent them to read and leave unanswered. This not only applies to local officers, but to some of those who are placed in the positions they occupy for the purpose of corresponding on labor matters, and are paid for the same out of the earnings of labor. This is deplorable, but, nevertheless, a fact. The following are the names, and amounts of money received from all sources, of those who contributed to the funds of the Secretary and Treasurer for defraying expenses:

Collection from Terre Haute Union printers	\$1 05
Springfield, O., Iron Molders' Union	4 90
Cleveland Trades Assembly	5 00
Chicago Trades Assembly	3 00
Chicago Seamen's (Lake) Union	5 00
Chicago Painters' Union	1 00
Detroit Trades Council (col.)	1 00
Sandwich, Ill., I. M. U.	1 00
Lorain, O., I. M. U.	2 00
Indianapolis Trades Assembly	1 00
Indianapolis I. M. U.	1 00
Pittsburg I. M. U. (14)	1 00
Buffalo Branch Chicago Seamen's Union	5 00
St. Louis Trades Assembly	2 00
Troy, N. Y., Cigar Makers' Union	1 00
Muskegon, Mich., C. M. U.	10 00
Erie, Pa., I. M. U.	1 00
New Haven C. M. U.	1 20
London, Ont., C. M. U. (col.)	2 00
Chicago C. M. U.	5 00
Cincinnati Trades Assembly	5 00
St. Louis C. M. U.	2 00
Marietta, O., I. M. U.	1 00
Chicago Tin and Sheet Iron Workers' Union (1)	4 00
Brockport, N. Y., I. M. U.	5 00
St. Louis Typographical Union	2 00
Lawrenceburg, Ind., I. M. U.	1 00
Pittsburg Tailors (K. of L., 1620, L. A.)	2 00
Milwaukee I. M. U.	1 00
Chicago Carpenters and Joiners, No. 4	1 15
Ironton, O., I. M. U.	1 00
Maysville, Ky., C. M. U. (col.)	1 95
Fall River Mule Spinners' Association	2 00
Pittsburg I. M. U., No. 243	1 00
Kimmiswidge, Mo., Amalgamated I. & S. W.	2 00
Rochester, N. Y., C. M. U.	1 00
Allegheny City, Bishop Lodge, A. A. I. & S. W.	1 00
Frostburg, Md., A. A. I. & S. W.	1 00
Cincinnati Custom Tailors' Protection Ass'n	3 00
Buffalo Trades Assembly	5 00
Norwich, Conn., I. M. U.	15 00
Sharon, Pa., (Shenango L., 4) A. A. I. & S. W.	1 00
Ashland Ky., (Mutual) A. A. I. I. & S. W.	1 00
Chicago, Ill., L. A., 1,597, K. of L.	2 00
Pittsburg, L. A., 791, K. of L.	1 00
New Haven, Conn., Trades Assembly	1 10
Pittsburg Window Glass Workers of U. S.	1 00
Hubbard, O., No. 27, A. A. I. & S. W.	1 00
Pittsburg "Soho L., No. 70," A. A. I. & S. W.	1 00
Hancock, Mich., I. M. U., 127	1 00
Beaver Falls, Pa., L. A., 1,569, K. of L.	2 00
Brownsville, Pa., L. A., 1,610, K. of L.	1 00

Chicago Typographical Union, 16, (col.)	\$1 30
Pittsburg L. A., 1,030, K. of L.	1 00
Cincinnati Pastry and Marine Cooks' Ass'n	3 00
Chicago No. 1, A. A. I. & S. W.	1 00
Pittsburg L. A., 319, K. of L.	1 00
Allegheny City L. A., 1,595, K. of L.	1 00
New York Trades and Labor Assembly	5 00
New York Ornamental Confectioners	1 00
New York Cigar Packers, No. 1	2 00
New York Cigar Packers, No. 2	2 00
Joliet, Ill., No. 13, A. A. I. & S. W.	1 00
Quincy, Ill., I. M. U., 44	14 80
Chicago Labor Union (German)	5 00
Toronto, Ont., C. M. U., 27	3 50
Pittsburg L. A., 1,477, K. of L.	1 00
Pittsburg L. A., 1,397, K. of L.	1 00

Total money received.....\$174 00

The money has been placed in bank as received, and used as required. There is still on hand, and to credit of the Congress, about \$20, which will be remitted to the proper person as soon as designated.

6. I also send with this report several letters, which appear to have been forwarded to me as credentials.

7. Also, a letter, in reply to my inquiry of Mr. Fitzpatrick, of the International Iron Molders, and one from Josiah B. Dyer, which I commend to you for consideration. Yet there is no cause for complaint on any account. Sacrifice every thing but principle for perfect union, and we must eventually place our Labor Congress on a footing that will command the respect of the law-making power of the world—in fact, our Congress must, on all matters affecting the man who earns his living by his own efforts and by labor, be the dictator of that other National Congress which has done so much to oppress the workingman, and speak with no uncertain sound. Let the word go forth the world over that the American workingman is not a slave, and that our Labor Congress is the champion of right, justice, and equality.

You are here at this hour to form a Federation of Trade Unionists—the fraternity of toil, of enterprise and invention. The character is to be international. The objects to be promoted by this meeting, its designs and its influences, are to be as far-reaching as the abodes of civilized men. Let your action be cool, deliberate, and not too over-reformatory. Grasp one idea, viz., less hours and better pay, and carry it into all your work as the first principle. How will we accomplish this? As the capitalists and wage-grabbers obtain their ends—by law. In my opinion, it is about time for those who create all wealth and all comfort to enjoy some benefit from their exertions.

By law can be wiped out those damnable conspiracy laws which have been placed on the statute books of many of our States, and which employers invoke to our detriment and disadvantage.

It should be the aim of this Congress to form a plan or organization so just and comprehensive in its entirety and working details as to come fully up to the great needs of the hour, so that into its ample folds may be gathered the representatives of all the trades in our country, putting an end to antagonism and jealousy among workmen and different organizations of labor. Let the good of one be the good of all.

In closing this report, I wish to extend my thanks to the *Progressive Age*, of Chicago; *The Union*, of St. Louis; *The Labor Tribune*, of Pittsburg; *The Labor Standard*, of Paterson, New Jersey; *The Labor Standard*, of Fall River, Mass.; *The Carpenter*, of St. Louis; and a great many others who, although not devoted to labor and its advancement, have kindly inserted the call in the columns of their papers, or noticed the meeting. Also, to Mr. P. F. Fitzpatrick, for inserting call in *Iron Molders' Journal*; to Mr. A. Strasser, for assistance and inserting call in the report of Cigarmakers' Convention in the *Official Journal*; to Jas. F. Fraim, of Pittsburg, of Knights of Labor; to W. H. Foster, of Cincinnati, for complete list of Unions and secretaries, with residences; to M. L. Crawford, of Chicago, for active, earnest work in the interests of the Congress; to Josiah B. Dyer, for inserting call in the *Granite Cutters' Journal*, and co-operation; to W. H. Traves, Secretary and Treasurer of International Typographical Union; to Robert Howard, Secretary of National Mule Spinners' Union, Fall River, Mass.; and to hundreds of good, solid Trade Union men throughout the country, who have aided me to spread the knowledge to workmen's organizations. So a. and each I return my sincere thanks, and hope the next session of the Congress will find our Unions represented from the South, and some other portions of the United States which have failed to send delegates.

GERMAN SECRETARY.

In my correspondence, I have found several German Unions, some of whom could not send

a delegate to transact business in English. Such Unions should be looked after, and corresponded with by an earnest German Secretary.

AN ORGAN.

Some have written me for information as to which of the labor papers, of which there are less than a dozen, was the organ of the Labor Congress. I have always been glad to answer that, as the movement must be international, so must the "organ" be, and we should consider all the labor papers the especial help and mouthpiece of Unionism and the Congress. I have found them each and all ever ready to publish any matter for the information or advancement of the cause of labor. And, finally, gentlemen of the Congress, if, in your further efforts, the information in my possession, or I, myself, can be of use to you, command me.

Yours, for labor,

M. W. MOORE,

Cor. Secretary and Treasurer.

To the International Trades Union Congress, Pittsburg, Pa., Nov. 15, 1881.

Mr. Weber, of Pittsburg, announced that it would be impossible to obtain Turner Hall for the remaining sessions of the Congress, as it had been previously secured by other parties. The Local Committee had secured Schiller Hall for all further sessions.

The Congress then adjourned, the hour fixed by rule having arrived.

THIRD DAY—Morning Session.

The Congress convened in Schiller Hall, at the specified hour, President Jarrett in the chair.

The minutes of the previous day were read, corrected and approved.

The reports of Committees being called for, Mr. Brant, from the Committee on Plan of Organization, reported the Chairman absent.

Mr. Leffingwell, Chairman of the Committee on Platform of Principles, announced that the committee was not yet ready to report.

The following resolution was offered by Mr. Brant, which was adopted:

RESOLVED, That the officers of this, the first session of the Trades Union Congress of the United States and Canada, be, and they are hereby instructed to exchange appropriate greetings with Mr. Henry Broadhurst and the Parliamentary Committee of Great Britain, and through them with their brethren of that country.

Mr. Brant read a resolution adopted by the

Brass Finishers' and Brass Molders' Protective Union No. 1, of Detroit, which was referred to the proper committee.

Mr. Daniel Rodgers moved that a committee of two be appointed to draft suitable resolutions of sympathy with D. R. Jones, President elect of the Miners' Association of the Pittsburg and Steubenville District, who was reported as dangerously ill. The motion was adopted and the following committee appointed: Messrs D. Rodgers and R. E. Weber.

Mr. Gompers, Chairman of the Committee on Plan of Organization, announced that the committee was ready to report, and submitted the 1st article, as follows:

Article 1. This association shall be known as "The Federation of Organized Trades Unions of the United States of America and Canada," and shall consist of such Trades Unions as shall, after being duly admitted, conform to its rules and regulations, and pay all contributions required to carry out the objects of this Federation.

A motion was made to adopt the article as read, and discussion ensued.

Mr. Weber hoped that the name of the Federation would read so as to include all laboring people.

Mr. Kinnear: I want this organization to reach all men who labor, such as the 'long-shoremen in our seaport towns. For that reason I desire the article so amended so as to read "Trades and Labor Unions."

Mr. Grandison (the colored delegate), of Pittsburg: We have in the city of Pittsburg many men in our organization who have no particular trade, but should not be excluded from the Federation. Our object is, as I understand it, to federate the whole laboring element of America. I speak more particularly with a knowledge of my own people, and declare to you that it would be dangerous to skilled mechanics to exclude from this organization the common laborers, who might, in an emergency, be employed in positions they could readily qualify themselves to fill.

Mr. Pollinger: We recognize neither creed, color, nor nationality, but want to take into the folds of this Federation the whole labor element of the country, no matter of what calling; for that reason, the name should read, "Trades and Labor Unions."

Mr. Gompers: The expressions of the section seems to me to be not thoroughly understood. We do not want to exclude any working man who believes in and belongs to organized labor.

Mr. Jarrett said he was in favor of accepting all men who worked for a living and belonged to an organized body of workers, but did not want to include those who would not work and maintain themselves.

Mr. Cowan: Do you want to exclude miners? We have many thousands of them, and we want them in this Federation. You will find them to be worthy your attention.

A Voice: That is a trade.

Messrs. Byrne, Towelson, McKean, and Conway gave expression in favor of amending the name to include Labor Unions.

Mr. Jas. Lynch: I think trade organizations covers the whole matter, and will reach the objects of the Congress.

Mr. Powers: I am in favor of the report as read, as I believe it will keep out of the Federation political labor bodies which might try to force themselves into our future deliberations.

Mr. Dwyer: Am I to understand that local Unions, not attached to national or international organizations, are debarred from representation by the section reported?

A Voice: No, we want you, also.

Mr. Dwyer: I represent a local organization, the Painters' Union of Chicago. Are they to be excluded because they do not belong to a national or international organization?

Mr. Henneberry: I am in favor of helping any body and every body, but let all trades join their respective national organizations.

Mr. Layton: I am opposed to excluding from the Federation all organizations except those of skilled mechanics. The Knights of Labor wish to be with you, and they embrace all laborers.

Mr. Dovey: I would like the name of the Federation to read "Trades and Labor Unions."

Mr. Pollner to Mr. Dovey: Amend so that it be "Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions," and I will second it.

Mr. Dovey: I do make the amendment as suggested.

Mr. Brant: That suits me exactly. I wish this Federation broad enough to encompass all working people in its folds.

The previous question being called for by a sufficient number, the President (Vice-President Gompers in the chair) cautioned the delegates that, when the previous question was called for, the vote would be on the article as reported, and the amendment would be cut off.

Mr. Leffingwell: Do I understand that to be the decision of the Chair?

The Chair: I so decide in accordance with Cushing's Manual.

Mr. Leffingwell: I appeal from the decision.

Vice-President Powers assuming the chair, the question on the appeal was put, and the President's decision sustained by a vote of 34 yeas to 27 nays.

The call for the previous question being withdrawn, by unanimous consent, a motion to close debate was carried, the amendment agreed to, and the article, as amended, adopted.

By this time the Special Committee, to draft resolutions of sympathy with D. R. Jones, was announced, and the Chairman of the Committee on Plan of Organization gave way to the report of that committee, which was introduced by Chairman D. Rodgers, as follows:

WHEREAS, This Congress learns with feeling of profound concern and sorrow of the great affliction of Mr. D. R. Jones, President-elect of the Miners' Association of Pittsburg and Steubenville District; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this body extends heartfelt sympathy to our co-laborer, Mr. Jones, and also the Association of which he is President.

RESOLVED, That in the gentleman named we recognize a stalwart champion of industrial liberty and a martyr to the oppressive con-

spiracy law with which the statute books of Pennsylvania are disgraced.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

The Chairman of the Committee on Plan of Organization resumed his report.

THIRD DAY—Afternoon Session.

The Congress was called to order at 1 P. M., Vice-President Gompers in the chair.

The Committee on Plan of Organization continued its report.

Articles 4. The basis of representation in the sessions of this Federation shall be, for National or International Trades and Labor Unions, one delegate for 5,000 members or less, and one delegate for every 5,000, or major portion thereof, above the first 5,000. For local Trades Assemblies of Councils, one delegate. No local Trade or Labor Union shall be entitled to a representation in the sessions of this Federation where International or National Unions of said craft exist, or where there are Trades Assemblies or Councils in the locality.

Mr. Kinnear moved to adopt as read.

Mr. Weber objected to the article, saying that, by its terms, the larger the constituency the smaller would be the proportionate representation, which he did not think would conduce to the objects desired.

Mr. Pollner spoke in favor of the article if amended so as to give one delegate for every additional 2,500 above 5,000.

Mr. Erb advocated its adoption as read.

Mr. Gompers supported the report, explaining its adaptability.

Mr. James Lynch supported the report.

Mr. Rankin wished to know how delegates were to be elected, by Local or International Unions?

Mr. Powers would prefer its being so changed as to give every State full and fair representation, irrespective of National or International Unions.

Mr. Cummin objected to select bodies, like International Unions, having the choosing of delegates, and stated that he should insist on all members having a voice in electing representatives to this Congress.

Mr. Stewart took the same stand as Mr. Cummin.

The main question was called for, and ordered put.

On a vote being taken, the article was rejected by 50 against 28.

Article 2, "Objects," and Article 3, "Sessions," were adopted without debate.

This Committee not being prepared to report further, and no other business being presented, the Congress, at 11:30 A. M., adjourned until 1 P. M.

Mr. Brant offered the following, to be inserted as a substitute for Article 4, as reported by the Committee.

That all International and National Unions, Trades Assemblies or Councils, and Local Trades or Labor Unions shall be entitled to one delegate for 100 members or less, and one additional delegate for each additional 500 members, or major part thereof; also, one delegate for each International or National Union, and one delegate for each Trades Assembly or Council.

Mr. Jarrett here resumed the chair.

Mr. Gompers opposed the proposed article as an unjust basis.

Mr. Crawford raised the point of order that this proposition must be referred back to the committee, which was sustained.

At this juncture, the following communication, just received by the Secretary, was read:

Washington, November 11, 1881.

To the Officers and Members of the Labor Congress, Pittsburg:

Brothers: At a meeting of the Confederation of Labor of this city, the following was adopted:

RESOLVED, In view of the brief time intervening between the perfecting of this organization and the meeting of the convention at Pittsburg, it will not be practicable for us to send a representative to that body.

RESOLVED, That we heartily sympathize with the object sought to be accomplished, and wish you godspeed in your undertaking, and hope to be represented in your next convention.

THOMAS S. DONAHOE,
G. EDMONSTON,
S. W. HEASLEY.

The communication was ordered to be received and filed.

The report of the Committee on Plan of Organization was resumed.

Articles 5 and 6 were adopted as read.

This was as far as the report had been prepared, and the report of the committee, to whom was referred resolutions of sympathy with Ireland, was called for.

Mr. J. W. Crozier, Chairman of that Committee, submitted the following, which was adopted:

WHEREAS, We greatly deplore the unjust land laws that have been enforced against the Irish people in the past; and

WHEREAS, Hundreds of Ireland's honest spirits now suffer an unjust imprisonment in consequence of their heroic attempts to ameliorate the condition of her oppressed people; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we extend to these champions, battling in the cause of human liberty, our hearty sympathy, and that we also extend to the oppressed of all nations, struggling for liberty and right, the same encouraging words of sympathy.

Mr. Leffingwell, Chairman of the Committee on Platform, presented his report.

A motion to consider the sections seriatim prevailed.

It was then moved to reconsider the motion by which the Rules were adopted, for the purpose of striking out that portion closing debate on the call of seven delegates. The motion was lost.

The report of the Committee on Platform was read, as follows:

Gentlemen of the Labor Union Congress:

Your Committee appointed to prepare a Declaration of Principles and to whom was referred the various resolutions presented to this Congress, having carefully considered all matters pertaining to the subject in question, have the honor to submit the following as the result of their labors:

(See Platform, page 3.)

Signed,

SAM. L. LEFFINGWELL,
R. ROBERTSON,
MICHAEL J. BYRNE,
GUSTAV FOWITZ,
JOHN J. THOMPSON,
A. C. RANKIN,
LEO. P. DWYER,
L. A. BRANT,
A. MADERA,
CHAS. F. BURGMAN,
M. P. WALSH,
SHERMAN CUMMIN.

The preamble and resolutions Nos. 1 and 2 were adopted without discussion. No. 3, having reference to the employment of children, was opposed by Mr. Brennan, of Pittsburg, on the ground that its enforcement would be an interference with individual rights.

Mr. Powers: I want this plank to go through this meeting with all the force that can be given it. With hundreds of examples under my own observation in Chicago, I say that there is no crime greater under the heavens than that of employing child labor in mills, factories, and industrial establishments. Chicago is raising up an army of criminals by this very thing. Children from the

tender age of ten up to fourteen are driven into factories by brutal fathers that they may earn a livelihood for them. Boys are training for criminals and girls for prostitutes. See what I have seen of the gigantic evils of this, and if you had a hundred votes you would cast them for this resolution.

Mr. Dwyer: I want to raise my voice in favor of giving this resolution to the world as the sentiment of the Labor Congress. I, too, have seen the effects of this curse. I know of little children that support families, their drunken fathers and elder brothers, by the toil of their little hands. Before they have the chance of a rudimentary education they are put out to labor for the support of lazy, drunken fathers. I am the father of fifteen children, yet I would work till my fingers were worn to the bone before I would allow one of my little ones to go forth and toil day by day as some I have seen.

Mr. Michels: The employment of children under fourteen years of age is prohibited in many States by statute, but is not always enforced. What do the law-makers care for the children of the masses? What care they for the hordes of boys and girls at work that should be at school? John B. Gough has said that the saddest thing he ever saw was a little child with an old face. Oh, I have seen them by hundreds—seen them in mills and factories. I want these law-makers, who protect the capitalist to know, like Napoleon, that they must heed the mutterings of the masses. By all means set this resolution before the world as our sentiment—as our demand. Blazon it high up, where all may see and read what we think of the employment of children in any capacity of work.

Mr. Compers: Not long since I was on a committee appointed to visit the tenement cigar shops. I saw there on that visit scenes that sickened me. I saw little children, six and seven and eight years of age, seated in the middle of a room on the floor, in all the dirt and dust, stripping tobacco. Little pale-faced children, with a look of care upon their faces, toiling with their tiny hands from dawn till dark; aye, and late into the night, to help to keep the wolf from the door. I asked them how long they worked, but they did not, could not understand. In the simplest way I talked to them, and learned that they began before daylight, and worked till long after dark. Often they would be overcome with weariness and want of sleep, and fall over upon the tobacco heap. Shame upon such crimes; shame upon us if we do not raise our voices against it.

The resolution was passed unanimously.

Nos. 4 to 10 were adopted as read.

No. 11, as reported, was read, as follows:

RESOLVED, In view of the rapid concentration of aggregated capital in the form of gigantic monopolies, we affirm it to be the duty of the Congress of the United States and State Legislature to assume, as rapidly as possible, a wholesome supervision over the railroad and telegraph companies of the country, with a view that their operations, as in the postal service, may be for the benefit of the people whose franchises they have secured.

Mr. Rankin offered the following substitute:

RESOLVED, That it is the duty of Congress to regulate inter-state commerce. All lines of communication and transportation should be brought under such legislative control as shall secure moderate, fair, and uniform rates for passenger and freight traffic.

Mr. Rankin supported his substitute by a speech of some length, in which he denounced in strong terms grasping monopolies who, by the power of money, almost totally shut out small shippers from the use of their lines, and charged them rates of transport that were simply extortion in comparison with those paid by wealthy firms. By bribery they controlled State governments, and made it impossible for justice to be meted out to those who took their bribes and voted at their bidding, and if a check were not put to their aggressions they would shortly control State Legislatures and the General Government itself, and rule the people with despotic power.

President Jarrett ruled that both resolutions were foreign to the purpose for which this Congress was convened, as stated in the call.

The decision of the Chair was appealed from by Mr. Charles Erb.

A rising vote sustained the decision of the chair.

Resolution No. 12, as offered by the Committee, read as follows:

RESOLVED, That railroad land grants forfeited by reason of non-fulfillment of contract, should be immediately reclaimed by the Government, and henceforth the public domain reserved exclusively as homes for actual settlers.

The Chair took the same view as he had taken on No. 11, and ruled this also out of order.

No. 13, appearing in the Platform of Principles as No. 11, was then read.

Mr. Brant: If there is any one rock on which this Congress of Trades Unions will split, it is this tariff plank. I oppose its introduction because I foresee plainly that it will be the cause of trouble and will raise up two factions. The West does not look at

protection as the East does. I am from the West and in favor of free trade. The farmers and workmen of the West are in favor of free trade.

President Jarrett: I want this issue settled here and now. I want the indorsement of this Congress on this tariff resolution. I tell you that I am ready now or at any time to discuss this question with any delegate. It is a matter that is of vital importance to the West, let the gentleman say to the contrary if he choose. Do you want the wages of the workmen dragged down? Do you want foreign cheaply-produced articles imported to compete with our manufactures?

Mr. Burgman: I fail to see the importance which some of the delegates present here attach to the tariff question. I am for free trade. Protective tariff is a party issue; it is of no importance to the country at large. Protective tariff means protection to the American manufacturer against the importation of foreign cheap goods, but it does not mean protection to the American laborer against the importation of foreign cheap laborers. The American manufacturers want protection against foreign competition, yet will force their cheaply manufactured goods into foreign markets, and in order to have the name of selling cheap will bring the toilers of this country to the lowest notch of living. I attach no importance to protective tariff, yet, as a matter of experiment and to preserve harmony, I shall vote in favor of it.

Mr. P. G. Somers: As a western man I stand in opposition to the policy of the first speaker. I am a protectionist. I want to see our American workmen and manufacturers protected. Free trade does not only affect iron workers, but the miners who dig coal for us, the coke burners that furnish us our coke, the printers that give us the newspaper—all these are affected. It is protection that gives us work and wages and enables us to beautify our homes.

Mr. Cummin: This tariff question is foreign to the object of our meeting here. It should not be allowed to intrude itself. It is merely a political scheme for political purposes. We have no right to meddle in politics now, for we are not ready. Every political convention has its tariff plank. We are not a political convention, and we want no tariff measure introduced in our Declaration of Principles.

Mr. Crawford thought it was a mistake to force the resolution through, as it would only cause dissension. As long as the East and West are situated as they are at present they would not agree on this subject. Therefore he

was in favor of not making any reference to the tariff, promising at the same time that if the East offered no tariff resolutions, none advocating free trade would come from the West.

Mr. Michels was sorry the question had been broached, but, now that it had been mentioned, it must go through.

Mr. Brant, seconded by Mr. Pollner, moved to table the resolution.

The motion was lost by 38 nays to 35 yeas,

after which the resolution was adopted as read.

The remaining two sections were adopted, and the Platform was then ratified as a whole.

Mr. Leffingwell stated that other resolutions which had been referred to the committee, and which were not germane to the Platform, would be introduced next morning.

The President declared the Congress adjourned, the specified hour having arrived.

FOURTH DAY—Morning Session.

The Congress assembled at the regular hour, President Jarrett in the chair.

The minutes of the previous day were read and confirmed.

Mr. Burgman offered a resolution opposing the further importation of Chinese Coolies. (See No. 1 of Supplementary Resolutions, following Platform.) He supported it by a lengthy address, reviewing the evils which have already resulted from the unrestricted importation of that class of labor.

Mr. Cummin did not believe the Chinese would swallow up our civilization, although they represented a civilization that had endured much longer than ours. The Constitution of the United States guaranteed them the hospitality of our shores, and they should have the same rights as other foreigners.

Mr. Byrne: The gentlemen does not represent the views of Massachusetts workmen when he makes such statements. Let the Chinese be civilized in China.

Mr. Cummin moved to amend the resolution by striking out "prohibiting" and inserting "regulating."

The amendment was lost, and the resolution adopted with one dissenting voice.

On motion the resolution just adopted was ordered placed in the Supplementary Resolutions following the Platform.

The Committee on Platform submitted Supplementary Resolutions Nos. 2, 3, and 4, which were adopted.

Article 4 of the Plan of Organization, as reported, having been referred back, the committee recommended the substitute, now printed under that head, which was adopted.

The same committee reported the Standing Orders as prepared.

Sections 1 to 8, inclusive, were adopted as read.

A section providing for the reading of papers in the order in which they have been received by the committee, and another stating that papers in defense of Trades Unions were unnecessary, were, after some discussion, laid on the table.

Sections 9 to 17 were adopted as read. This completed the Standing Orders.

President Jarrett announced that business would call him from the city, and he would have to withdraw from the Congress.

Mr. Bengough moved that a rising vote of thanks be tendered President Jarrett, for the able manner in which he had presided over the deliberations of the Congress. Adopted.

Mr. Jarrett thanked the Congress heartily, and expressed the hope that the work performed would bring forth lasting results for the benefit of labor throughout the land.

On motion, a recess of five minutes was taken, in order to allow the delegates to take leave of Mr. Jarrett.

On motion, it was agreed that members of the Legislative Committee may be members of the next Congress, without a vote, and the same was ordered incorporated in the Standing Orders.

The following telegram, from Buffalo, was read and filed:

Brothers: We send you fraternal greeting. We have elected our state, county, and city Workingmen's ticket.

Fraternally yours,
COUNTY COMMITTEE.

The same course was adopted with regard to the two telegrams which follow:

Paterson, N. J., November 16, 1881.
The Labor Congress, Pittsburg:

The labor men of Paterson, though not represented at your Congress, are in full sympathy with your work.

J. P. McDONNELL,
Editor Labor Standard.

Boston, November 17, 1881.

President Jarrett, Labor Congress, Pittsburg:

On March 9th, Secretary of the Navy Hunt promised a delegation of workmen to recognize the national eight-hour law—a promise he has not complied with. Will the Labor Congress appropriately notice this insult to the United States wage workers?

JOHN B. WRIGHT.

A communication from a Committee of New York Trades Unionists asked the Congress to select three delegates to represent America; to invite the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Unions Congress of Great Britain, and the Syndical Chamber of France to choose each a like number; these nine to form a Commission to proceed to Ireland, hear evidence and acquaint themselves with the causes of discontent, then to proceed to London or Paris, make deductions from the evidence collected and publish same. The Committee engaged to do all in its power to make the Commission a success.

One from R. F. Trevellick, Detroit, offered to present to the Congress the old National Labor Union seal.

Mr. John Phillips, Secretary of the National Hat Finishers' Trade Association, wrote that his organization would probably have been represented in the Congress, but they had not seen the call, and only learned that the Congress was in session from the newspaper reports of the first day's proceedings.

Cigarmakers' Union No. 63, Corry, Pennsylvania, sent a congratulatory communication, and inclosed an order for \$1.50 toward the expenses of the Congress.

A letter from C. Speyer, General Secretary of the International Labor Union of America, gave advice as to the best plan to perfecting and perpetuating a Federation of Trades.

These communications, after being read, were ordered filed.

The following resolutions were offered and adopted:

By Mr. Pollner:

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Committee is hereby instructed to publish the proceedings of this Congress for distribution to the constituencies of the country, and that they be authorized to charge a reasonable rate for the same, sufficient to defray the cost of said printing.

By Mr. Brant:

RESOLVED, That the officers of this, the first session of the Trades Union Congress of the United States and Canada, be, and they are hereby, instructed to exchange appropriate greetings with Mr. Henry Broadhurst and the Parliamentary Committee of Great Britain, and, through them, with their brethren of that country.

By Mr. Gompers:

RESOLVED, That the manufacture of cigars in tenement houses is detrimental both to the interest of the manufacturers (except about thirty who unfairly profit by this nefarious system) and working people, and upon this ground should be prohibited.

RESOLVED, That inasmuch as the manufacture of cigars in tenement houses in the city of New York is highly injurious to the health of the tenant workers and, on sanitary, economical, moral, and social grounds, should be prohibited, we therefore demand the abolishment of the system.

By Mr. Powers:

RESOLVED, That we concur in the late action of the Seamen's Union of North America, at Cleveland, in their appeal to Congress of the United States, for the enactment and enforcement of such laws as will preserve the life and health of seamen upon the waters of our northern lakes; compelling all vessels, steam and sail, to carry a proper number of competent seamen, the number to be regulated by the tonnage of the vessel; requiring proper sanitary inspection and regulation of all vessels, to the end that the present sacrifice of human life, caused by the unhealthy condition of the living and sleeping apartments, may be prevented; the repeal of laws permitting United States Marshals to charge a fee of fifteen dollars for executing a libel for wages upon a vessel; to regulate the loading of vessels; to prevent the discharging and laying-off of crews in foreign ports, and that Congress shall make provision for the inspection of all sailing vessels as well as steam vessels.

By Mr. Dwyer:

RESOLVED, That this Congress request the painters of the United States, wherever located, to enter into correspondence with each other with the object in view of forming a National Association, and that the delegates from the different Trades Assemblies here represented be requested to endeavor to form local Painters' Unions in their respective cities, and, when so formed, to communicate with the *Progressive Age*, of Chicago, Ill.

By Mr. Mackenzie:

RESOLVED, That delegates to this Congress be requested to impress upon bookbinders in their respective cities the necessity of forming protective unions, to assume the duty of organizing the same, and, when successful, to forward the names and addresses of the officers to the Bookbinders' Protective Association, 10 Stanton street, New York.

By Mr. Charles D. Lynch:

WHEREAS, The brass finishers and brass molders of Detroit, Mich., recognize the fact that their interest and welfare is in international unity.

WHEREAS, We find it impossible to obtain the desired result alone. We avail ourselves of this opportunity to communicate with our trade through this Congress. We therefore request that this Trade and Labor Congress do pledge itself to support our efforts in organizing local Unions of our trade throughout the United States and Canada.

RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions be tendered to the Trade and Labor Congress by our delegate, with the request that it receive favorable consideration.

By Mr. Burgman:

RESOLVED, That this Congress tenders a vote of thanks to Mr. James A. Whitney, of New York City, for sending a number of copies of his able monograph, entitled "The Chinese and the Chinese Question," and expresses its high appreciation of the valuable information contained therein.

By Mr. Streat:

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the present session of the Labor Congress are hereby instructed, upon their return to their respective homes, to use all their endeavors in organizing local Unions with the object of forming national or international bodies of the same; also, that the Secretary be instructed to enter into correspondence with cities where there are no Trades Assemblies, for the purpose of organizing such, and with local Unions having no national or international head, requesting them to form the same.

The Committee on Plan of Organization also recommended the passage of the following:

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Committee are empowered and hereby authorized to solicit subscriptions from Trades and Labor Unions and labor sympathizers, for the purpose of assisting in defraying the necessary expenses of the committee for the ensuing year, All of which your committee most respectfully submits.

ROBERT HOWARD, Chairman.
P. G. SOMERS,
JAS. LYNCH,
LYMAN A. BRANT,
SAMUEL GOMPERS, Secretary.

FOURTH DAY—Afternoon Session.

The Congress convened at 1 P. M., Vice-President Powers in the chair.

The Committee on Plan of Organization continued to report.

Articles 7 and 8 were adopted as read.

Article 9. The salary of the Federation Secretary shall be ——— dollars per annum.

Mr. Brant moved to insert five hundred dollars in the blank.

A substitute, offered by Mr. Rankin, to leave the matter of Secretary's salary to the discretion of the Legislative Committee, was adopted, but not to be inserted in the Plan.

The remaining article was adopted as read, after which the entire Plan and Standing Orders, as amended, were adopted as a whole.

The hour of 2 P. M. having arrived, the President announced the special order of bus-

The resolution was adopted, as were also those which here follow:

By Mr. Betting:

WHEREAS, The smoking public are imposed upon by buying cigars that are manufactured by Chinese in California, by prisoners in State prisons, and by the filthy tenement-house system of manufacturing in New York and Brooklyn; and

WHEREAS, The Cigar-Makers' International Union of America, the White Cigar Makers' Union of California, and the Cigar-Makers' Assembly of Pittsburg have issued Union labels, in order to guarantee clean, honest workmanship, and discourage these illegitimate systems of manufacture; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Congress of Trades and Labor Unions hereby recommends all smokers not to buy or smoke cigars which do not come out of boxes bearing the Union label or blue seal.

By Mr. Brant:

RESOLVED, That this convention hereby expresses its sympathy with the Brass Molders and Finishers of Detroit, and Painters, and all other partially organized trades of the country, and asks the delegates to this convention to render all assistance in their power to perfect such organizations on returning to their homes.

On motion, it was agreed to go into nomination and election of Legislative Committee and Secretary at 2 P. M.

The hour of adjournment having arrived, the Congress stood adjourned until 1 P. M.

ness to be the election of General Secretary and Legislative Committee.

The following nominations for Secretary were then made:

Mr. Burgman nominated Samuel Gompers, of New York.

Mr. Brant nominated W. H. Foster, of Ohio.

Mr. Streat nominated M. L. Crawford, of Illinois.

Mr. Bryne nominated Samuel L. Leffingwell, of Indiana.

No further names being suggested, the President declared the nominations closed.

A committee of five tellers was, on motion, appointed, as follows:

Messrs. Streat, Henneberry, Rankin, Burgman, and Byrne.

A motion prevailed to drop the name receiving the lowest vote on each successive ballot until a choice was reached:

First ballot:

Gompers, N. Y.	32
Crawford, Ill.	17
Foster, Ohio	16
Leffingwell, Ind.	15

Second ballot:

Gompers	34
Foster	25
Crawford	21

Third ballot:

Foster	44
Gompers	31

On motion of Mr. Gompers, Mr. Foster was made the unanimous choice of the Congress for Secretary.

The following nominations were made for the remaining four members of the Legislative Committee:

Messrs. Gompers, Rankin, Crawford, Powers, Howard, Weber, Cline, Burgman, Mackenzie, Henneberry, and Thompson.

Considerable discussion ensued on the possibility of violating the article precluding two men from one trade serving on the Legislative Committee, and a motion passed to submit the nominations to a committee consisting of one from each State.

A recess of five minutes was declared by the Chair while the delegates for the various States held caucuses to nominate their committee members.

The following committee was then named, and retired to make their nominations:

California—C. F. BURGMAN.
Indiana—SAMUEL L. LEFFINGWELL.
Illinois—H. S. STREAT.
Massachusetts—JOHN KINNEAR.
New York—F. J. KLOKKE.
Missouri—WM. WILSON.
Michigan—CHAS. ERB.
New Jersey—R. EDMUNDS.
Ohio—THOMAS HENNEBERRY.
Pennsylvania—H. H. BENGOUGH.
West Virginia—A. M. OWENS.
Rhode Island—J. J. THOMPSON.
Maryland—GUSTAV FOWITZ.

During the absence of the committee, Mr. Brant offered the following:

RESOLVED, As the sense of this Federation, that the bill in relation to our public domain submitted to Congress in February, 1880, as part of the report of the Public Lands Commission, would speedily have the effect, if enacted into law, of passing into the hands of western cattle kings and other capitalists nearly all of our public land that is of any value for other than mining purposes; that, judging by past experience, much of the land which would be sold in vast tracts as pasture and irrigable lands at the nominal price of \$1.25 per acre, will within a few years be found highly valu-

able for farming purposes, and that those who then want to cultivate it will either have to rent it from the great landlords which this bill would create, or else to serve these landlords as hirelings in competition with the cheap labor of Chinamen.

RESOLVED, Further, that in view of the deplorable effects of landlordism in Ireland, it seems incredible that some men should deliberately propose to build up a vastly larger system of monopoly in this country; that the bill under consideration would nevertheless have this effect, and that a vote in its favor by any member of Congress will be an act of treason to the interests of labor, and will be resented as such by the workmen of the United States.

RESOLVED, Further, that the Trades Unions, Workingmen's Assemblies, and other labor organizations in the several Congressional Districts, should pass resolutions upon this subject and transmit them to their Representatives in Congress, giving these Representatives to understand that betrayal of the interests of labor in this matter will be punished by the political opposition of the working-class portion of their constituents.

The resolutions were adopted.

The Committee on Suggestion of a Legislative Committee having returned, presented the following report:

Your committee appointed from the different States to select candidates for the Legislative Committee, convened and called Mr. T. Henneberry to the chair. After deliberation they present the following names:

Samuel Gompers, of New York; Alex. Rankin, of Pennsylvania; Richard Powers, of Illinois; C. F. Burgman, of California.

T. HENNEBERRY, Chairman,

For the Committee.

The Congress, on motion, made the nominations unanimous, and afterward elected the above committee.

The members of the newly-elected Legislative Committee thanked the Congress at some length for the honor conferred, and pledged themselves to the faithful performance of their duties.

The next business on hand was the selection of a place to hold the next meeting of the Congress. After considerable discussion the whole matter was reverted to the same committee that had been appointed to nominate the Legislative Committee.

The committee retired, and in a few minutes returned and reported in favor of Cleveland, Ohio.

On motion the report was adopted and Cleveland made the choice of the Congress for its next annual session.

In order that the Legislative Committee should not be entirely without funds with which to commence their duties, the Chair called for voluntary subscriptions, which were paid in by the delegates to the amount of

\$53.60. Mr. M. L. Crawford handed over \$2.50 which had been paid to him in his capacity of Secretary of the Congress, making a total of \$56.10.

On motion it was made the duty of the Legislative Committee to require from Mr. Mark W. Moore, Secretary of the Committee appointed by the Terre Haute Convention to call this Congress, vouchers for his expenditures a correct statement of receipts, and the balance of money remaining in his hands as such Secretary.

The following, offered by Mr. Compers, was unanimously agreed to:

RESOLVED, That the thanks of this Congress are due and are hereby tendered to the following newspapers of Pittsburg, *Commercial Gazette*, *Dispatch*, *Labor Tribune*, *Chronicle*, *Telegraph*, *Sunday Critic*, and *Globe*, for their very faithful reports of the proceedings of this Congress.

The work of the Congress now having drawn to a close, the Chairman, Mr. Powers, called for silence while Mr. Mackenzie, of New York, led in prayer, after which the Chair announced the Congress adjourned to meet the third Tuesday in November, 1882, at Cleveland, Ohio.

LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE.

On Saturday morning, November 19th, the Legislative Committee met in Room 22, St. Clair Hotel, Pittsburg, and was called to order by W. H. Foster, Secretary of the Federation, and ex-officio member of the Committee.

The Legislative Committee organized by electing the following officers for the ensuing year: President, Richard Powers; First Vice-President, Samuel Compers; Second Vice-President, Charles F. Burgman; Treasurer, Alex C. Rankin.

The Secretary was directed to have the proceedings printed in pamphlet form, and Messrs. Bengough and Pollner, Secretaries of the Congress, were employed to assist in completing the minutes for that purpose.

Sub-Committee on Seal and Addresses to Unions were appointed. The design of the former was adopted, and a seal procured, and the report of the latter Sub-Committee was concurred in.

It was agreed that the Treasurer and Secretary be required to give bonds, the former, \$1,000, and the latter \$500, with real estate security, to be forwarded to the President within one month from date, the amounts of the bonds to be increased hereafter, if the sums in trust warrant the same.

A resolution adopted by the Committee precludes its member from publicly advocating the claims of any of the political parties.

Considerable discussion on the work before the Committee ensued, and, the course to be adopted having been agreed upon:

The Committee gave final instructions to the Secretary and adjourned.

The postoffice addresses of the permanent officers are as follows:

President, Richard Powers, No. 99 West Randolph street, Chicago, Illinois.

First Vice-President, Samuel Compers, No. 85 Columbia street, New York City, New York.

Second Vice-President, Charles F. Burgman, No. 134 Fourth street, San Francisco, California.

Treasurer, Alex. C. Rankin, No. 61 Robinson street, Allegheny City, Pennsylvania.

Secretary, W. H. Foster, No. 14 Eastborne Terrace, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Report of the Second Annual Session

OF THE

Federation of Organized Trades and Labor
Unions of the United States
and Canada

HELD IN

CLEVELAND, OHIO
November 21, 22, 23 and 24
1882

Published by Authority of the Federation
PRICE TEN CENTS

Mass Meeting.

A mass meeting of workingmen was held in City Armory Hall, Cleveland, on Wednesday evening, November 22d. The meeting was called by the Trades Assembly of Cleveland, delegates to the Trades' Union Congress having consented to speak on the occasion. The following extract is from the *Cleveland Penny Press*.

"Richard Powers, the President of the meeting, made a few remarks, advising workingmen to take independent papers and journals published in the interest of labor. He said he was in favor of prohibiting convict labor, coolie labor and the immigration of cheap Chinamen. He referred to the election of M. A. Foran to Congress from this district, and said that he knew when he shook that gentleman by the hand that there would be one man on the floor of Congress who would not betray the workingmen. He then introduced the first speaker, Frank Foster, of Cambridge, Mass., who appealed to all laborers to unite in one grand federation, declaring that that was the only way of becoming strong enough to repel the encroachments of aggressive capital. We must not suppliantly ask, he said, but demand what we want, and to do this there must be union. When we do that we will gain for ourselves and comrades the independence which our forefathers gained from England. He declared that such men as the Goulds, Vanderbilts and Rockefellers were the cause of the downfall of the Roman Republic, and would be of this if it were not for the workingmen. He strongly advocated the abolition of child labor, and urged that the children of the poor mechanic should be educated, instead of being placed in the workshop and made prematurely old by excessive labor. His speech was roundly cheered.

Congressman Murch said the United States Senate was a gallery of antiquities and a

barnacle on the legislative ship. He said the President of the United States had more absolute power than any crowned monarch of the old world. Murch told the story of his going with a committee to wait on the President and ask the enforcement of the Eight-hour Law. Arthur received them coldly, and when he heard what the committee wanted he replied: "I do not think the Eight-hour Law is constitutional, and no power on earth can make me enforce an unconstitutional law." To this Murch replied: "Mr. President, I did not know before that you were here to interpret the laws, but supposed you were to execute them. The Constitution of the United States says that the Supreme Court shall interpret the laws." Upon this the President came gracefully down from his position. Murch said that Congress had, by a large majority, admitted to the people of the country that it was entirely unable to cope with so great a question as the tariff. The result was a commission, which traveled about the country in palace cars, drank fine liquors and lived high. This commission, now ready to report, was about to recommend that the duty be taken off cosmetics, hair-oil, etc., but was to leave the duty on sugar, cotton and salt the same as before, or increase it. He thought that it was enough to sicken any sensible person of tariff commissions. The idea of taking the duty from articles of no value to the people, and increasing the tax on food, was preposterous. He said that he had heard more common sense expressed regarding the tariff at the meetings of the Trades Federation in this city than he ever did on the floor of Congress.

Robert Howard and Sam. Gompers followed, both in speeches favoring the forming of labor unions, and urging workingmen to join them as the only source of salvation.

FEDERATION OF Organized Trades and Labor Unions OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA 1882

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS.

PREAMBLE.

WHEREAS, A struggle is going on in the nations of the civilized world between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between the capitalist and the laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year and will work disastrous results to the toiling millions of all nations if not combined for mutual protection and benefit; and

WHEREAS, The history of the wage-workers of all countries is but the history of constant struggle and misery engendered by ignorance and disunion; and

WHEREAS, The history of the non-producers of all ages proves that a minority, thoroughly organized, may work wonders for good or evil.

It therefore behooves the representatives of the workers of North America, in Congress assembled, to adopt such measures and disseminate such principles among the people of our country as will unite them for all time to come, to secure the recognition of the rights to which they are justly entitled. Conforming to the old adage, "In union there is strength," the formation of a Federation embracing every trade and labor organization in North America, a union founded upon a basis as broad as the land we live in, is our greatest hope; for the past history of trades' unions proves that small organizations, well conducted, have accomplished great good, yet their efforts have not been of that lasting character which a thorough unification of all the different branches of industrial workers is bound to secure.

Conforming to the spirit of the times and

the necessities of the industrial classes, we make the following

PLATFORM.

1. The National Eight Hour Law is one intended to benefit labor and to relieve it partly of its heavy burdens, and the evasion of its true spirit and intent is contrary to the best interests of the nation. We therefore demand the enforcement of said law in the spirit of its designers.

2. We demand the passage of laws in State Legislatures and in Congress for the incorporation of Trades and Labor Unions, in order that the property of the laboring classes may have the same protection as the property of other classes.

3. We demand the passage of such Legislative enactments as will enforce, by compulsion, the education of children; for if the State has the right to exact certain compliance with its demands, then it is also the duty of the State to educate its people to the proper understanding of such demands.

4. We demand the passage of laws in the several States forbidding the employment of children under the age of fourteen years in any capacity, under penalty of fine and imprisonment.

5. We demand the enactment of uniform apprentice laws throughout the country; that the apprentice to a mechanical trade may be made to serve a sufficient term of apprenticeship, and be provided by his employer, in his progress to maturity, with proper and sufficient facilities to finish him as a competent workman.

6. It is hereby declared the sense of this Congress that convict or prison labor, as applied to the contract system in several of the States, is a species of slavery in its worst form; it pauperizes labor, demoralizes the honest manufacturer, and degrades the very criminal whom it employs; and, as many articles of use and consumption made in our prisons under the contract system come directly and detrimentally in competition with the products of honest labor, we demand that the laws providing for labor under the contract system herein complained of be repealed.

7. What is known as the "order" or "truck" system of payment, instead of lawful currency as a value for labor performed, is one not only of gross imposition, but of downright swindle to the honest laborer and mechanic, and we demand its entire abolition. Active measures should be taken to eradicate the evil by the passage of laws imposing fine and imprisonment upon all individuals, firms or corporations who continue to practice the same.

8. We demand the passage of such laws as will secure to the mechanic and workingman the first lien upon property the product of his labor, sufficient in all cases to justify his legal and just claims.

9. We demand the repeal and erasure from the statute books of all acts known as conspiracy laws, as applied to organizations of labor in the regulation of wages.

10. We recognize the wholesome effects of a Bureau of Labor Statistics as created in several States, and we demand the passage of an act establishing a National Bureau of Labor Statistics, and recommend for its management the appointment of a proper person, identified with the laboring classes of the country.

11. We demand the passage of a law by the United States Congress to prevent the importation of all foreign laborers under contract.

12. We declare that the system of letting out Government work by contract tends to intensify the competition between workmen, and we demand the speedy abolishment of the same.

13. We demand the passage of our various Legislative bodies of an Employers' Liability Act, which will give employes the same right to damages for personal injuries that all other persons have.

14. We recommend all trades and labor organizations to secure proper representation in all law-making bodies by means of the ballot, and to use all honorable measures by which this result can be accomplished.

SUPPLEMENTARY RESOLUTIONS.

1. WHEREAS, The experience of the last thirty years in California and on the Pacific Coast having proved conclusively that the presence of Chinese, and their competition with free white labor, is one of the greatest evils with which any country can be afflicted; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we use our best efforts to get rid of this monstrous evil (which threatens, unless checked, to extend to other parts of the Union) by the dissemination of information respecting its true character, and by urging upon our representatives in the United States Congress the absolute necessity of passing laws entirely prohibiting the immigration of Chinese into the United States.

2. That we urge upon the Legislatures of our several States the passage of laws of license upon stationary engineers, and the enforcement of proper restrictions which will better preserve and render protection to life and property.

3. That we demand strict laws for the inspection and ventilation of mines, factories, and workshops, and sanitary supervision of all food and dwellings.

ORGANIZATION.

ARTICLE I.—NAME.

This association shall be known as "The Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States of America and Canada," and shall consist of such Trades and Labor Unions as shall, after being duly admitted, conform to its rules and regulations, and pay all contributions required to carry out the objects of this Federation.

ARTICLE II.—OBJECTS.

The object of this Federation shall be:

Section 1. The encouragement and formation of Trades and Labor Unions.

Sec. 2. The encouragement and formation of Trades and Labor Assemblies of Councils.

Sec. 3. The encouragement and formation of State and Provincial Federations of Trades and Labor Unions.

Sec. 4. The encouragement and formation of National and International Trades Unions.

Sec. 5. To secure legislation favorable to the interests of the industrial classes.

ARTICLE III.—SESSIONS.

The sessions of the Federation shall be held annually, on the third Tuesday in August, at such place as the delegates have selected at the preceding Congress.

ARTICLE IV.—REPRESENTATION.

The basis of representation in the Congress of this Federation shall be: From National or International Unions, for 1,000 members or less, one delegate; for 4,000, two delegates; for 8,000, three delegates; for 16,000, four delegates; for 32,000, five delegates, and so on. From State or Provincial Federations of Trades Unions, two delegates. From local Trades Assemblies of Councils, District Assemblies of the Knights of Labor, or local Trades Unions, one delegate. But no local Trade Union shall be entitled to representation which has not been organized six months prior to the session of this body.

ARTICLE V.—OFFICERS.

At the annual sessions of this Federation, the delegates shall elect a Legislative Committee consisting of five delegates, one of whom shall be the Federation Secretary, and who shall be elected separately.

ARTICLE VI.—DUTIES.

Section 1. The duties of the Legislative Committee shall be to exercise a supervision over the organization, and the execution of its laws, and to carry out such instructions as may, from time to time, be given them at the sessions of this Federation.

Sec. 2. The Legislative Committee shall choose from among themselves a Chairman, First and Second Vice-Chairman, and Treasurer, for the ensuing year.

ARTICLE VII.—REVENUE.

Section 1. The revenue of this Federation shall be derived from a capitation tax of one cent per member annually from each National or International Trade or Labor Union, and each Trades Assembly or Council or District Assembly of the Knights of Labor affiliated with this Federation, which shall be paid quarterly in advance.

Sec. 2. Local trade unions may be entitled to representation upon payment of \$10 per annum and per capita tax on membership over 500.

Sec. 3. State or Provincial Federations of Trades Unions shall pay \$10 per annum for each delegate sent by them to the sessions of this Federation.

ARTICLE VIII.—ACCOUNTS.

The accounts of the year shall be closed, fourteen days prior to the assembling of the Congress, and a balance sheet duly certified and presented to the same.

ARTICLE IX.—REMUNERATION.

The remuneration for loss of time by the Legislative Committee shall be at the rate of \$3 per diem, traveling and incidental expenses to be also defrayed.

STANDING ORDERS.

1. The annual meeting of this Federation shall be held on the third Tuesday in August, at such place as the delegates to preceding Congress may have selected.

2. The time of the meeting shall be as follows: On the first day, to assemble at noon; on all other days, at 9 A. M.; adjourn at 12:30; reassemble at 1:30 and adjourn at 5 P. M. each day.

3. At the opening of the Congress the Chairman of the Legislative Committee shall take the chair until the Congress has elected its own President, which shall be its first business. The Congress shall then elect a Vice-President, two Secretaries, two Auditors, a Doorkeeper and Messenger.

4. A Standing Orders Committee shall then be elected, to whom shall be remitted the whole business of the Congress, the discussions, together with the whole financial arrangements of the Congress.

5. The Congress having been formally opened by the President, the Legislative Committee shall present their report for the past year, which shall be read by the Secretary, and shall be laid on the table for discussion by the Congress; said report shall contain a list of the committee meetings, with dates and names of those present.

6. The reader of a paper shall be allowed twenty minutes; the mover of a resolution fifteen minutes; succeeding speakers ten minutes each. No one to speak more than twice on any one subject.

7. No second amendment to an original proposition shall be put to a vote until the amendment is disposed of.

8. No papers shall be read except those which are required for legislative purposes; no member to read more than one paper.

9. All papers shall be sent to the Secretary of the Legislative Committee at least two weeks before the meeting of the ensuing Congress, the same to be read and arranged by the committee to facilitate the business of the Congress.

10. The Secretary, who shall also be Secretary of the Legislative Committee, shall be elected at the annual Congress. Should a vacancy occur between the annual meetings of the Congress, the Legislative Committee shall have the power to fill the vacancy.

11. The duties of the Legislative Committee shall be to watch legislative measures directly affecting the question of labor; to initiate, whenever necessary, such legislative action as the Congress may direct, or as the exigencies of the time and circumstances may demand.

12. No candidate shall be elected on the Legislative Committee unless he is a delegate from his own trade society or represents a Trades Council, and the body so represented must have contributed its capitation tax during the year previous to his nomination. In no case shall two members of one trade be elected on the committee.

13. All surplus moneys, after the payment of the expenses of the Congress, shall be handed over to the Treasurer of the Legislative Committee for the general purposes of such Committee.

14. The Legislative Committee shall assist and co-operate with the Local Committee or the city where the next Congress is to be held, for the purpose of making the arrangements as complete as possible, and preparing the questions to be discussed, and together to take such joint action as the business, or other special circumstances of the time, may render necessary or desirable.

15. A sub-committee of the Legislative Committee shall meet a week before the meeting of each Congress, to arrange matters for the Congress.

16. That in the case of any amendment of the Standing Orders of the Congress being desired by any society or delegate, it shall be necessary for every such proposed amendment to be forwarded to the Legislative Committee at least one month before the meeting of the Congress.

17. The Legislative Committee shall be members of the succeeding Congress, from which they have been credited, but without a vote.

RULES.

1. At the appointed time the Chairman shall call the Congress to order.

2. During the hours of meeting no delegate will be allowed to leave the room, unless on special business.

3. Every delegate, when he rises to speak, shall respectfully address the Chair. While speaking, he shall confine himself to the question.

4. Should two or more rise to speak at the same time, the Chair shall decide who is entitled to the floor.

5. No delegate shall interrupt another in his remarks, unless to call him to order for words spoken, or for the purpose of explanation.

6. If a delegate, while speaking, be called to order, he shall, at the request of the Chair, take his seat until the question of order is determined, when, if permitted, he may proceed again.

7. A delegate shall not speak more than once on the same subject, or question, until all who wish to speak shall have had an opportunity to do so; nor more than twice without permission from the house, nor any longer than ten minutes at one time.

8. A question shall not be subject to debate until it has been seconded and stated from the Chair, and it shall be reduced to writing at the request of any member.

9. When a question is before the house, no motion shall be in order, except to adjourn for the previous question, to postpone indefinitely, to postpone for a certain time, to divide, to commit, or to amend; which motions shall severally have precedence in the order herein arranged.

10. On the call of seven (7) delegates debate shall cease, and a vote be taken on the motion or question under debate.

11. A motion to lay on the table shall be put without debate.

12. A motion for a reconsideration shall not be received unless made in the same session by a delegate who voted in the majority.

13. Any delegate who shall misbehave himself in the meeting, or disturb the harmony or order thereof, either by abusive, disorderly, or profane language, or shall refuse obedience to the presiding officer, shall be admonished of his offense from the chair, and, if he offend again, he shall be excluded from the room for the session, and afterwards dealt with as the Congress may determine.

DELEGATES TO SECOND ANNUAL SESSION.

Amalgamated Society of Engineers' Machinists, and Millwrights, New York Central District—David McIntyre, 388 Eleventh avenue, New York.

Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America—Donald McIntosh, 18 Dare street, Cleveland, Ohio.

Cigar Makers' International Union—Samuel Gompers, 1313 Second avenue, New York; W. J. Cannon, 40 Parkman street, Cleveland, Ohio.

German-American Typographia—Hugo Miller, Jersey City, New Jersey.

Granite Cutters' National Union—Thompson H. Murch, Rockland, Maine.

International Typographical Union—Frank K. Foster, 10 Wendell street, Cambridge, Mass.

Lake Seamen's Union—Richard Powers, 99 West Randolph street, Chicago, Ill.; Fred. J. Klokke, 3 Union Wharf, Buffalo, New York.

National Mule Spinners' Association—Robert Howard, Box 203, Fall River, Mass.

Boston Central Trades and Labor Union—John Clasby, 1 Union street, Cambridgeport, Mass.

Chicago Trade and Labor Assembly—Mark L. Crawford, 437 Wabash avenue, Chicago, Ill. Cincinnati Trades Assembly—W. H. Foster, 14 Eastbourne Terrace, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Cleveland Trades Assembly—George A. Colliss, 27 Johnson street, Cleveland, Ohio.

Dayton Trades Assembly—Edward W. Fitzgerald, Box 788, Dayton, Ohio.

Detroit Council of Trade and Labor Unions—Judson Grenell, 44 Canfield street, Detroit, Mich.

District of Columbia Federation of Labor—Gabriel Edmonston, 719 Twelfth street, N. W. Washington, D. C.

Indianapolis Trades Assembly—Sam. L. Lefingwell, 36½ West Washington street, Indianapolis, Ind.

New York Amalgamated Trade and Labor Union—Kenneth Mackenzie, 10 Stanton street, New York.

Representative Assembly of Trade and Labor Unions of the Pacific Coast—Samuel Gompers, proxy.

LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE.

Chairman—Samuel Gompers, 1313 Second avenue, New York.

First Vice-Chairman—Richard Powers, 99 West Randolph street, Chicago.

Second Vice-Chairman—Gabriel Edmonston, 719 Twelfth street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

Treasurer—Robert Howard, Box 203, Fall River, Mass.

Secretary—W. H. Foster, 14 Eastbourne Terrace, Cincinnati, Ohio.

REPORT. FIRST DAY—Morning Session.

Cleveland, O., November 21, 1882.

The second annual session of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada convened in Sloss Hall, 354 Ontario street, Cleveland, Ohio, at noon on the above date, Richard Powers, Chairman of the Legislative Committee, presiding, and W. H. Foster acting as Secretary.

The chair announced that the first business would be the receipt of credentials and per capita tax by W. H. Foster, Secretary of the committee, and that the Legislative Committee would scrutinize the credentials and report at 2 P. M., to which hour he declared the meeting adjourned.

FIRST DAY—Afternoon Session.

At 2 P. M. the Federation reassembled, Richard Powers presiding.

On the meeting being called to order Mr. George A. Colliss, President of the Cleveland Trades Assembly, delivered an address of welcome to the delegates.

The Legislative Committee, acting in its capacity as a Committee on Credentials, made the following report:

Cleveland, O., November 21, 1882.
To the Officers and Delegates of the Second Annual Session of the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada:

Gentlemen:—Your committee, to whom was referred the credentials of delegates to the

present session, have scrutinized the same, and report the following gentlemen entitled to seats: Colliss, George A., Cleveland, Trades Assembly.

Clasby, John, Boston Central Trades and Labor Union.

Crawford, Mark L., Chicago Trades Assembly.

Edmonston, Gabriel, Federation of Trades Unions of District of Columbia.

Fitzgerald, Edward W., Dayton (O.) Trades Assembly.

Foster, Frank K., International Typographical Union.

Foster, W. H., Cincinnati Trades Assembly.

Gompers, Samuel, Cigarmakers' International Union.

Grenell, Judson, Detroit Trades Council.

Howard, Robert, Mule Spinners National Association.

Klokke, Fred. J., Lake Seamen's Union.
Leffingwell, Sam. L., Indianapolis Trades Assembly.

Mackenzie, Kenneth, New York Amalgamated Trades and Labor Union.

McIntyre, David, Amalgamated Society of Engineers, Machinists and Millwrights.

Miller, Hugo, German-American Typographia.
Murch, Thompson, H., Granite Cutters' National Union.

Powers, Richard, Lake Seamen's Union.

In comparing the credentials with the basis of per capita tax your committee find that the International Typographical Union, represented by Mr. Frank K. Foster, has not contributed its full amount.

Mr. Thompson H. Murch, representing the Granite Cutters' National Union, informs us that he has sent for the per capita tax and expects it tomorrow.

Respectfully submitted,
R. POWERS,
SAMUEL GOMPERS,
W. H. FOSTER.

Mr. Crawford stated that he, as Secretary-Treasurer of the International Typographical Union, which Mr. F. K. Foster represented, had not had any instructions from that body in reference to per capita tax; that the matter had been overlooked at the convention held in June last at St. Louis; and that by the advice of President Clark, he had forwarded tax on 1,000 members only, subject to the action of the Federation, although 13,000 members were under the jurisdiction of the International Typographical Union.

On motion of Mr. Gompers, seconded by Mr. Grenell, Mr. F. K. Foster was declared entitled to his seat as a delegate, the question of per capita tax from his constituency to be deferred for future adjudication at the present annual session.

Mr. Murch's explanation was, on motion, accepted as satisfactory.

On motion of Mr. Grenell the report of the committee was received, and all delegates named therein admitted to seats as such.

Mr. Powers delivered a brief opening address, and declared nominations open for President of the Congress.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS.

Mr. E. W. Fitzgerald nominated for President Mr. Sam. L. Leffingwell.

The nominations, on motion of Mr. Gompers, were declared closed, and it was moved by Mr. Grenell, and declared carried, that the Secretary cast the ballot of the Federation for Mr. Leffingwell, which was done, when the Chair announced Mr. Sam. L. Leffingwell as the choice of the Federation for President.

Mr. Leffingwell, on taking the chair, thanked the delegates for the honor conferred, and declared nominations open for Vice-President.

Mr. Mackenzie placed before the Federation the name of Mr. Samuel Gompers.

On motion of Mr. Grenell the Secretary cast the ballot of the Convention for Mr. Gompers, and the chair declared him duly elected.

For First Secretary, Mr. Howard placed in nomination Mr. Frank K. Foster, for whom the Secretary was directed by motion to cast the ballot, which was done, and Mr. Frank K. Foster was declared duly chosen as Secretary.

Mr. Powers moved that W. H. Foster be chosen as the Second Secretary, which motion was adopted, as was also another directing the Secretary first chosen to cast the ballot of the Federation, which being done the Chair announced the nominee as duly elected.

Mr. F. K. Foster, chosen as First Secretary, declined to serve, on the ground that his craft would be unduly represented among the officers of the Convention. The resignation was, on motion, accepted.

Mr. Thompson H. Murch was nominated as Secretary.

That gentleman demurred, saying he would prefer serving as a floor member, but a motion prevailed to elect him by acclamation, and it was so declared by the Chair.

For Auditors Mr. M. L. Crawford was nominated by Mr. Gompers, and Mr. Fred. J. Klokke by Mr. Powers, and, a motion to that effect being agreed to, the nominees were declared elected by acclamation.

On motion of Mr. Mackenzie the election of Doorkeeper and Messenger was dispensed with.

Messrs. Richard Powers, John Clasby and Hugo Miller were nominated to serve as a Committee on Standing Orders, and on motion the nominations were confirmed.

The Chair called for the reading of the report of the Legislative Committee, the Secretary complying as follows:

Cleveland, O., November 21, 1882.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Second Annual Session of the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada:

Gentlemen:—In accordance with Section 2, Article VI, of the Plan of Organization adopted at the Pittsburg session one year ago, your Legislative Committee met next day after the adjournment of that body, and organized by electing the following officers: Richard Powers, Chairman; Samuel Gompers, First Vice-Chairman; Chas. F. Burgman, Second Vice-Chairman; A. C. Rankin, Treasurer; W. H. Foster, Secretary *ex-officio*.

The Federation having directed a report of the proceedings of the first session to be printed, we employed W. C. Pollner and H. H. Bengough, who had acted as Secretaries of that body, to prepare the minutes as complete as possible for publication.

We held committee sessions during two days—November 10th and 20th—our time being taken up with the selection of a design for and procuring a seal, preparation of an address to unions, discussion of plan of action, instruc-

tions to the Secretary, etc., all of which are fully recorded in the committee's minute book.

MEAGER SUPPORT.

In our address to unions we appealed for subscriptions to enable us to carry out the work entrusted to us, as directed by the Federation; and, judging from the harmonious and enthusiastic character of the first session, we accepted our task with sanguine hope not only that the organizations there represented would officially ratify and affiliate with the Federation which their delegates had inaugurated, but that the trivial cost involved, and the practicability of our propaganda would attract many other trades union societies, and induce them to enroll themselves with us. In this hope we have been disappointed; wordy indorsements have reached us from all quarters, but the ratification most necessary—funds wherewith to meet the expenses incident to our trust—was extremely limited. In consequence we have been so pecuniarily embarrassed that we are unable at this session to present a report in accordance with our anticipations of a year ago. We have, however, as far as our means would allow, attempted to perform some of the duties for which we were chosen, and we are confident that the Federation, now in its infancy, is destined, under wise direction, to attain before many years such proportions that recognition of its just claims will be accorded as a matter of course, and it will become a great power for good to the toiling masses.

EFFORTS FOR RECOGNITION ON CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES.

When the time approached for appointment of Congressional Committees, we sanctioned the suggestion by our Secretary to Speaker Keifer of names for the House Committee on Education and Labor, as to that committee would be referred any measure affecting directly the welfare of the working people. A long letter setting forth our claims to recognition was forwarded, suggesting Messrs. Thompson H. Murch of Maine, James F. Briggs, of New Hampshire, George R. Davis, of Illinois, Henry S. Neal, of Ohio, Thomas L. Young, of Ohio, John F. Dezenzendorf, of Virginia, George D. Tillman, of South Carolina, Benton Macmillan, of Tennessee, William S. Rosecrans, of California, Melvin C. George, of Oregon, Charles N. Brumm, of Pennsylvania, Horace F. Page, of California, and Nicholas Ford, of Missouri, as acceptable persons from which to select a Committee of eleven on Education and Labor. Mr. Keifer did not even accord the courtesy of acknowledgment of receipt of the communication.

THE CHINESE.

Numerous monster demonstrations expressive of the views of trade unionists in opposition to the unrestricted importation of Chinese coolie slaves were held all over the country prior to the passage by Congress of Senator Miller's bill as amended, and in all the agitation connected therewith the members of your committee have actively participated or indirectly aided. The act as passed is by no means as satisfactory a remedy for the Mongolian curse as the working people had a right to expect, but without vigorous agitation we are satisfied the whole question would have been ignored. It is to be regretted that even this act, a small measure of relief from a flagrant injustice, is being so misconstrued by Assistant Secretary French and some of the judges in California as to render it almost inoperative.

THE EIGHT-HOUR LAW.

We were invited to join with a committee to whom President Arthur had promised an interview for the purpose of discussing the National Eight-hour Law, and the advisability and legality of its enforcement, this conference to take place on January 9th; but we were resolved that no expense of that nature should be incurred until we had sufficient money on hand over and above our indebtedness to warrant it, and, as we represented trades unions only, we declined to further our objects by means of subscriptions or donations offered to us from any other source. Although desirous of making efforts to further any pending action and initiate any measures for the good of our cause that could properly be acted upon in our National Capital, we concluded to take no step until our constituents demonstrated their earnestness for labor reform by the liberality of their contributions.

PROTECTION OF LIFE AT SEA.

The Lake Seamen's Union had prepared and approved by a constitutional lawyer a bill to preserve the lives and health of seamen, etc., which that body earnestly desired to be put on the way for passage by Congress, and urged the Federation to take official part to that end. The Seamen's Union being willing to advance the necessary funds, we deputed Mr. Powers to go to Washington for that purpose. While there, in addition to his special mission, he was instrumental in defeating a measure designed to deter seamen from connecting themselves with a union for mutual protection and benefit, and declaring combination on their part to be conspiracy and mutiny, punishable by heavy fine and a long term of imprisonment. This precious bill was introduced by Mr. Townsend, of Cleveland, O.

THE TENEMENT-HOUSE CIGAR PLAGUE.

In March we sanctioned Mr. Compers going to Albany in the name of the Federation to take part in urging before the General Assembly of New York a bill to prohibit the manufacture of cigars in tenement houses. We look for ultimate success for that measure, as well as for the seamen's bill before Congress.

SENATE COMMITTEE ON LABOR.

You will remember that the United States Senate, on June 21st, directed its Committee on Education and Labor to perform special duties during the recess of Congress. Among these were the consideration of labor strikes, inquiry into their causes, and to report what measures, if any, could properly be provided to modify or remove those causes. The committee was empowered to visit places, send for persons and papers, examine persons under oath, and take such steps as should appear to them necessary for a full investigation. We are not aware of any trades unionist having been summoned to give evidence or of any place visited, and have no idea of the nature of their report or the measures they may suggest to Congress. The Federation will, we have no doubt, give due attention to the matter, and take such steps as may appear best in the premises.

LABOR LAWS.

Some progress has been made during the past year toward the enactment of beneficial labor laws by a few of the State Legislatures, and these have been urged by your committee wherever we could wield any influence. In Ohio a bill to abolish the prison labor contract system has passed the lower house by a good majority,

and is expected to pass the Senate early in the coming session. Similar measures have been introduced in other States, and obnoxious intimidation bills have failed of enactment through trades union efforts.

WORK OF ORGANIZATION.

Your committee have aided in the formation of Trades Assemblies all over the country, the Secretary having sent sample copies of constitutions and letters of instruction how to organize and conduct such associations to all the more important cities where such assemblies had no existence. The result has fully warranted our efforts, and we have to thank numerous energetic unionists for valuable assistance. As an instance, one year ago the State of Ohio contained only two Trades Assemblies, but since that time the unions of Toledo, Columbus, Dayton, and Springfield have seen the advantage of united local action, and followed the example of Cincinnati and Cleveland.

From published reports and our own observation the number of local unions formed during the past year must have been very great. We have no means at present, however, of obtaining exact statistics.

Another great help toward the concentration of the strength of the combined labor movement and one which should receive your attention, is the formation of State and Provincial Federations of Trades Unions. Massachusetts has followed the example of New Jersey in this direction, and we hope to see it spread over all the States and Provinces. While it is true that we should keep a watchful eye over the legislation at Washington and Ottawa, in order to maintain free institutions and thwart the designs of greedy monopolies, we must remember that the measures more directly affecting us are the business of State and Provincial governments. Taking our Platform of Principles section by section, we find laws in favor of some of our demands already existing under one or two of these governments and absent in all the rest. What we have that is good in one part of the country we should have everywhere. Our measures should be uniform, universal, and simultaneous, and we should meet annually to compare notes as to progress made. As a matter of course an organization which has made itself felt in State and Provincial legislative halls will receive due recognition when it turns its attention to measures which are proper to bring up in Washington or Ottawa. We recommend that each delegate be requested to furnish the Secretary with a statement of the nature of the laws affecting the demands of each separate paragraph of our Platform in the State or Province in which he resides. This will facilitate the mutual understanding of the situation everywhere which we wish to arrive at, and help toward the attainment of our mutual aims. We should have an interchange of copies of laws which we want enacted, and every delegate should consider it his duty to endeavor to effect in his State or Province a Federation of Trades Unions, provided such does not already exist.

ASSISTANCE IN STRIKES.

We have during the year, by means of the telegraph, aided materially in securing employment for men on strike, thus relieving Union funds, and also in preventing the unwary from being entrapped by unscrupulous employers into accepting work under degrading conditions and in hostility to the interests of their brethren.

PRINTING OF PROCEEDINGS.

The Federation sustains pecuniary loss from the publication of the proceedings of the Pittsburgh session, and this is to be attributed to the apathy of some of the delegates who attended there. Of the 5,000 copies printed not half have been reported sold, leaving the balance on our hands as so much waste paper.

DECISION.

In January a decision as to the interpretation of Article VII of the Plan of Organization was requested from your committee, which we gave unanimously as follows: That the tax is three cents per annum from every member under the jurisdiction of a National or International Union, and the same per capita tax on the membership of every Union represented through a Trades Assembly or Council except such as are represented and paid for through National or International Unions.

NOTICE OF AMENDMENT.

Mr. Frank K. Foster has given notice that he will move at this session to strike out from the Platform of Principles the paragraph numbered 11, which reads as follows:

"That we recommend to the Congress of the United States the adoption of such laws as shall give to every American industry full protection from the cheap labor of foreign countries."

REPRESENTATION AND REVENUE.

In his report to the International Typographical Union, Mr. Lyman A. Brant, who represented that body at the Pittsburgh session of our Federation, expressed his hope that in future our basis of representation and revenue would be assimilated to that of the Trades Union Congress of Great Britain, which is a small fixed sum from each delegate attending the sessions, and voluntary subscriptions from all union organizations willing to contribute to the expenses of the Parliamentary Committee. During the past year the receipts of that body from all sources up to and including the session in Manchester two months ago amounted to \$4,000. Whether the adoption of the same plan would result in a larger representation in future sessions of this Federation and increased revenue over that of the plan now in force should receive serious consideration at your hands.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH TRADES UNION CONGRESS OF GREAT BRITAIN.

The Secretary, shortly after the Pittsburgh session, forwarded to the Miners' National Union of England a letter of condolence on the death of Alexander Macdonald, M. P., and also an address of greeting to the trades unionists of Great Britain through the Parliamentary Committee, which was sent to Hon. Henry Broadhurst, M. P., Secretary of that body. A congratulatory reply was returned by Mr. Broadhurst, in which he expressed a willingness to lend us any assistance he could render in the interchange of documents of mutual interest, etc. The address of our Secretary was published in the *London Labor Standard*. We would advise the encouragement of more frequent correspondence with the Parliamentary Committee in future.

LABORERS AS LAW-MAKERS.

In the recent elections friends of labor have been elevated in several sections of the country to positions which give them a voice in the enactment of the laws which govern us, and what is more gratifying, several office-holders

notoriously hostile to our cause have been defeated by the united efforts of trade unionists from giving further play to their designs. This should be taken advantage of by our successors.

It is to be regretted that during the year a degree of apparent hostility to practical trades unionism has been exhibited by individual members of organizations ostensibly in the interest of labor, in consequence of which, and the indifference of others, we have not received that support in forwarding our movement which we had hoped for.

TIME OF MEETING.

Your committee are of opinion that the month of November is not the most suitable time of the year in which to hold sessions of the Federation, and would suggest that you select a more desirable month in which to hold future sessions.

Trusting that our deliberations may be harmonious and tend to give an impetus to trades unionism that will quickly place it in a position to command the recognition to which it is entitled, we have the honor to subscribe ourselves,

Yours, respectfully and fraternally,

R. POWERS,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,

W. H. FOSTER, Secretary.

The report was referred to the Committee on Standing Orders.

The Secretary read his own report of the work performed by him during the past year, which included the issue and mailing of 10,000 circulars to all trades union organizations in the United States and Canada, publishing and mailing copies of the Pittsburgh session, conducting voluminous correspondence, etc. The report concluded with an itemized financial statement up to November 7, 1882, and was, on motion, referred to the Auditing Committee.

A motion prevailed declaring the reading of papers which delegates might have prepared as the next order of business.

PROTECTION VS. WAGES.

Mr. Frank K. Foster was accorded the floor, and read a paper entitled "Protection vs. Wages" in support of his motion to strike out Section 11 from the Platform, of which motion he had given previous notice. He regretted that the Pittsburgh session had seen fit to commit itself to a plank intended as an endorsement of high tariff, when at least a large minority of trade unionists in the United States and Canada held contrary views. Continuing, he said: "The question is one properly to be relegated to individual judgment. In order that the Federation may act intelligently on the question I have prepared some facts and figures exemplifying the present 'protection' of American industries. 'Protection' does not protect labor; the rate of wages depends upon other causes than the tariff; and labor, as the prime creator of wealth, is obliged to pay, in its consuming capacity, enormous and unjust taxes that capital may profit therefrom. The im-

mense subsidies paid to the iron, wool, cotton, and other favored industries of the United States have only served to concentrate wealth in the hands of the few, to the disadvantage of the many. Heavy customs duties do temporarily give an artificial stimulus to special producers at the expense of consumers, but only legitimate demands of trade can supply a permanent and healthful market for the products of industry. An artificial stimulus causes an excessive amount of capital to be employed, resulting in over-supply, lock-outs, and shut-downs. The Pacific Mills, of Lawrence, Mass., and the Harmony Mills, of Cohoes, N. Y., have enjoyed 'full protection' and huge dividends for many years, and have reduced the wages of their poorly paid hands below what is paid in free-trade England. From statistics of undoubted accuracy the 'protected' workers in pig iron and bar iron and steel received in 1880, the year of the great boom in that trade, an average of \$1.25 per day, while 805 companies drew from the consumers a pension of \$114,000,000. The cotton manufacturers receive from the same source a bounty of \$70,000,000 per annum; and \$86,000,000 is the annual prop on which our woolen manufacturers thrive, while the operatives subsist on from \$7 to \$8 per week. Silk workers have had their wages reduced 50 per cent. since the present duty of 60 per cent on foreign goods was levied. The tobacco trade is 'protected' by a duty of from 64 to over 200 per cent., yet the workers are brought into competition with labor employed under conditions that would disgrace a slave-holding community. Our National Congress is turned into a manufacturers' lobby, where the clique that brings the heaviest pressure secures the greatest monopoly. The capitalist who employs 100 men in making cloth, while benefited as a producer by the consumption of each one of them, is yet mulcted as a consumer in only 100th part of the sum paid by them. As consumers wage-workers are taxed for the support of monopolies, forced to pay toll to the brigands infesting our commercial highways. Diamonds and laces pay a smaller impost than medicines and blankets, and the coarser grades of the same goods are more heavily discriminated against than the superfine, as the official schedules will show. Flannels, for instance, valued at 40 cents per pound, are taxed 95 per cent., while less than 65½ per cent. is charged on flannels valued at 80 cents per pound and upward. The only consistent and effectual means of protecting our labor from foreign competition would be that of affixing a per capita tax on every immigrant of the wage-working class. We want protection from the cheap

philanthropy of interested capitalists. Past political economy is a vast cemetery of defunct doctrines, with perhaps here and there a spectral form conjured up by learned necromancers to frighten the ignorant and unthinking. Labor differs from merchandise in that it can think and act outside of and beyond its mercantile relations; and the element of will, above all things else, is sufficient to disarrange the fixed line of procedure our rulers so kindly arrange for us to follow. We are primarily interested in obtaining for labor a fair share of the wealth it creates. No endorsement of free trade is asked for, and that we should abstain from espousing either side of this question is a modest request. Members of the Trades Congress, I appeal to you all to erase from the Platform of the organized workmen of the United States and Canada this monopoly-nurturing, freedom-restricting section."

Mr. Crawford read a declaration which had been adopted by the Trades Assembly of Chicago on the subject of reduced hours of labor, which was referred, together with Mr. Foster's paper, to the Committee on Standing Orders.

On motion of Mr. Crawford a special Committee on Order of Business was directed to be appointed. The Chair selected Messrs. E. W. Fitzgerald, Kenneth Mackenzie, and Robert Howard as such committee.

Mr. Crawford moved the appointment of a special Committee on Basis of Representation and Per Capita Tax, which motion prevailed. Committee appointed: Messrs. G. Edmonston, Samuel Gompers, and Ed. W. Fitzgerald.

Mr. Mackenzie urged that it would tend greatly to facilitate the work of union or-

ganization in the East were the next session to be held in New York, where such work was greatly needed, and moved the appointment of a committee of five from different States on next place of meeting.

Mr. Powers urged that Chicago could make equal claims to those of New York, when the Chair ruled the discussion out of order as not being relevant to the motion.

On the motion being put, it was announced as carried. Committee appointed: Messrs. Kenneth Mackenzie, of New York; Frank K. Foster, of Massachusetts; George A. Colliss, of Ohio; Thompson H. Murch, of Maine; Richard Powers, of Illinois.

Mr. Powers made a motion, which was carried, that the States of Indiana and Michigan be also represented on the committee. The motion also included that the Secretary put the question of adding the Chair to the committee.

Secretary W. H. Foster put the question, which was carried in the affirmative, adding Mr. Sam L. Leffingwell, of Indiana, to the committee.

The Chair then added to the committee Mr. Judson Grenell, of Michigan.

Mr. Hugo Miller suggested that the minutes be taken in German as well as English, so that a correct report could be published after adjournment for the benefit of trades unionists who were better acquainted with the German language than the English, and also to save the cost of translation.

A motion of Mr. Grenell, seconded by Mr. Gompers, that the suggestion be referred to the Committee on Standing Orders, was adopted.

The Federation, on motion, adjourned to 9 A. M., Wednesday, November 22d.

SECOND DAY—Morning Session.

The Congress assembled at 9 A. M., President Sam. L. Leffingwell in the chair.

The roll was called and the minutes of the first day's session were read and confirmed.

GERMAN SECRETARY.

Mr. Powers, reporting for the Standing Orders Committee, recommended the election of a German Secretary. The report was received and the recommendation concurred in.

Mr. Hugo Miller was nominated to serve as German Secretary and elected by acclamation.

The Auditing Committee reported as follows:

Cleveland, November 22, 1882.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada:

Gentlemen: Your Committee appointed to audit the accounts of the Secretary and Treasurer beg leave to report that they have carefully examined their books and found them correct up to November 7, 1882. The total receipts up to November 7, 1882, were \$445.31; expenses up to November 7, 1882, \$433.98; leaving a balance on hand of \$11.33.

Respectfully,

M. L. CRAWFORD,
FRED. J. KLOCKE.

The report was, on motion, received and adopted.

The Committee on Credentials made a supplemental report in which it was stated that Mr. W. J. Cannon, of Cleveland, had handed in a proper credential as the second delegate from the Cigarmakers' International Union. The committee also reported having omitted to include in their report of the previous day that a credential had been received from the Trades Assembly of San Francisco authorizing Mr. Samuel Gompers to represent that body as a proxy delegate.

Report received and delegates admitted.

The Committee on Order of Business made the following report:

Cleveland, O., November 22, 1882.

To the Officers and Members of the Trades Congress:

Your Committee, to which was referred the matter of an Order of Business, beg leave to report the following:

1. Calling the roll.
2. Reading of the minutes.
3. Reception of credentials.
4. Admission of delegates.
5. Reports of Special Committees.
6. Report of Committee on Standing Orders.
7. Unfinished business.
8. New business.
9. Good and welfare of the Federation.
10. Adjournment.

ED. W. FITZGERALD,
ROBERT HOWARD,
KENNETH MACKENZIE,
Committee.

The report was, on motion, received and adopted.

The Committee on Per Capita Tax and Basis of Representation asked further time in which to report, which was allowed.

Mr. Hugo Miller having been elected as German Secretary, he was, on motion of Mr. Powers, relieved from duty on the Standing Orders Committee, and the Chair appointed F. K. Foster to fill the vacancy.

At the request of Mr. Powers the Standing Orders Committee was permitted to retire for deliberation.

GREETING.

The following communication was read:

Chicago, November 20, 1882.

By a resolution adopted at its regular meeting November 19, 1882, the Chicago Trade and Labor Assembly sends its kind regards and best wishes to the Hon. Martin A. Foran, and all delegates to the Federation of Trade and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada, in Cleveland assembled.

GEORGE RODGERS, President.
THOMAS E. RANDALL, Cor. Sec.,
230 Monroe street, Chicago.

On motion of Mr. Powers the communication was received and filed.

The same course, on motion of Mr. Grenell, was adopted with the following telegram from the editor of the Paterson *Labor Standard* after it had been read by the Secretary:

Paterson, N. J., November 21, 1882.

To the President of the Congress of the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions of North America, Cleveland:

The workmen of this State are in full sympathy with your efforts.

J. P. McDONNELL.

Mr. Edmonston read the following, adopted by the Federation of Trades Unions of the District of Columbia:

RESOLVED, That our delegate to the Labor Congress at Cleveland be instructed to invite delegates from the various Congressional Districts in that body to attend the Convention to be held in this city on November 30th inst.

RESOLVED, FURTHER, That any Committee appointed by said Congress be cheerfully invited to co-operate with the committee appointed by the convention in this city in laying their grievances before the Labor Committee of Congress.

Mr. Grenell introduced a resolution urging the more generous support and general dissemination of labor journals, which was referred to the Committee on Standing Orders.

A motion by Mr. Grenell, providing for the appointment of a Committee of Five on Platform of Principles, was agreed to. Committee appointed: Messrs. Grenell, Howard, Edmonston, Gompers and Murch.

Mr. F. K. Foster introduced a resolution instructing the Legislative Committee to urge the enactment by the various State governments of uniform apprentice laws, which was referred to the Committee on Platform.

A resolution disclaiming rivalry with this Congress on the part of the Federation of Trades Unions of the District of Columbia was read by Mr. Edmonston and referred to the Committee on Standing Orders.

The following resolution, offered by Mr. Grenell, was reported back favorably by the Committee on Standing Orders:

This Convention declares that in their opinion the support of labor papers, morally and financially, is one of the chief duties of workmen, and all trades unions, councils and assemblies should see to it that this powerful means of educating the laboring masses into their rights and duties should be sustained and encouraged in every possible manner.

Mr. Edmonston favored the resolution and remarked further that advantage might be taken of the drama as a means of educating working people as to their rights and duties. He would be willing to vote for a motion offering a premium for the best five-act play of the character indicated.

Mr. Murch supported the resolution, and also approved of the suggestion of Mr. Edmonston.

The stage had great influence, and should be made use of as an educator.

Mr. F. K. Foster, while recognizing the good influence of labor literature, thought much of it was wasted effort when forced into non-union ranks. The seed thus sown in unwilling soil, seldom took root. He believed a few words earnestly spoken were more effective in promoting trades unionism than any number of columns of puerile editorials.

General discussion ensued, and the resolution was adopted.

The Committee on Standing Orders made the following report:

That the motion of Mr. F. K. Foster to strike out Section 11 of the Platform of Principles and discussion on his paper entitled "Protection vs. Wages" come up at 2 P. M.

Also, that Mark L. Crawford's declaration on the eight-hour work day be considered im-

mediately after the motion of Mr. Foster is disposed of.

Report received and concurred in.

Mr. Powers moved, and Mr. F. K. Foster seconded, that a committee be appointed to invite Hon. M. A. Foran to address the Federation.

Motion agreed to, and Messrs. Powers, F. K. Foster, and Colliss appointed as such committee.

Mr. F. K. Foster offered a resolution instructing the Legislative Committee to exert their efforts in the endeavor to have passed by the various State governments an Employers' Liability Act. Referred to Committee on Standing Orders.

The same course was taken with a resolution by Mr. Clasby, recommending the dissemination of education in trades unionism through labor papers.

Noon recess.

SECOND DAY—Afternoon Session.

On the Federation reassembling at 1:30 P. M. the Committee on Standing Orders requested that the motion of F. K. Foster, which was made the special order for 2 P. M., should come up immediately, and a motion to that effect prevailed.

THE PROTECTION PLANK.

Mr. F. K. Foster moved, in accordance with notice, that Section 11 of the Platform of Principles be stricken out.

Mr. Gompers objected to a statement in the paper of Mr. Foster to the effect that strikes are always a loss to the workers, and hoped he would consent to its being stricken out.

Mr. Fitzgerald urged that hasty action should be avoided, and asked the delegates, before passing on the motion to strike out the tariff plank, to consider thoughtfully the statements made in the November number of the *North American Review* by Mr. Welsh, Ex-Minister to England. That gentleman charged that the literature of the Cobden Club and British gold were being abundantly used to disseminate free trade views in America, and accused unpatriotic American journals of conspiring with British aristocracy to promote and carry out British policy on American soil; that this work was in the hands of active, well-paid agents, whose impudence extended to interference in our elections, and we should be on the alert in resenting this impertinent intrusion on the part of a foreign nation.

Messrs. Powers, Crawford, McIntyre, Mackenzie (here Vice-President Gompers was called to the chair), Leffingwell, Edmonston, Howard and F. K. Foster continued the discussion.

Mr. Foster admitted the truth of the argument of Mr. Gompers that strikes were not necessarily losses, even under apparent defeat, but claimed that his paper had to some extent been misunderstood by that gentleman.

The vote on the motion resulted as follows:

Yeas—Messrs. Cannon, Clasby, Colliss, Crawford, Edmonston, Fitzgerald, F. K. Foster, Gompers, Grenell, Howard, Klokke, Leffingwell, Mackenzie, McIntyre, Miller, Murch and Powers—17.

Nay—W. H. Foster—1.

(President Leffingwell resumed the chair.)

The amendment striking out Section 11 was declared adopted.

EIGHT-HOUR WORK DAY.

The eight-hour declaration of the Chicago Trades Assembly being next in order that document was read by the Secretary as follows:

We, the Trades and Labor Assembly of Chicago and vicinity, representing the organized working people, declare that the eight-hour work day will furnish more work at increased wages. We declare that it will permit the possession and enjoyment of more wealth by those who create it. It will lighten the burden (of carrying the useless classes). It will diminish the power of the rich over the poor, not

LABOR PAPERS.

The following resolution, introduced by Mr. Clasby, was reported favorably by the Committee on Standing Orders, and adopted by the Congress:

RESOLVED, That we recommend all labor organizations to subscribe for trade and labor papers direct from their treasuries, supply each member with a copy, and distribute as many copies free as they can afford.

APPRENTICE LAWS.

The committee also recommended the adoption of the following, introduced by F. K. Foster:

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Committee be instructed to lay before the Legislative Assemblies of the country, wherever practicable, a bill providing for the enactment of uniform apprentice laws, in accordance with Section 4 of the Platform of Principles.

Messrs. Gompers and Powers moved its adoption as read.

Mr. Foster said that, although he had introduced it in accordance with his instructions, he was not in favor of legislative interference in the premises, but believed the apprentice question could be better dealt with by the trades unions interested.

Mr. Murch strongly opposed the resolution, charging it as an injustice to the young men of America, and was supported by Mr. Clasby.

The resolution was urged as a good measure by Messrs. McIntyre, Grenell, Crawford, Gompers, and others.

On the question being called for, the vote resulted:

Yeas—Cannon, Colliss, Crawford, Fitzgerald, W. H. Foster, Gompers, Grenell, Klokke, Leffingwell, McIntyre, Miller, Powers—12.

Nays—Clasby, Edmonston, F. K. Foster, Howard, Mackenzie, Murch—6.

The report of the Committee on Basis of Representation and Per Capita Tax was next submitted:

To the President and Delegates of the Federation of Trade Unions of the United States and Canada:

Gentlemen: Your committee to which was referred the matter of revision of representation and per capita tax beg leave to offer the following report:

We have carefully examined the subject matter entrusted to us, and find that Article IV., as it now stands, needs the following amendment:

To add after the word "Councils" in the last line the words "or local Trade Unions." Add an additional clause after the last word "delegate" in these words: "But no local Trade or Labor Union shall be entitled to representation which has not been organized six months prior to the session of this body."

To amend Article VII. by striking out the word "three" in the second line and inserting the word "two."

To add to Article VII. a new section to be known as Section 2, as follows: "Local Trade

by making the rich poorer, but by making the poor richer. It will create the conditions necessary for the education and intellectual advancement of the masses. It will diminish crime and intemperance. It will increase the power of wage-laborers to control the conditions that affect them. It will enlarge the wants, stimulate the ambition, and decrease the idleness of wage-laborers. It will stimulate production and increase the consumption of wealth among the masses. It will compel the employment of more and better labor-saving machinery. It will not disturb, jar, confuse, or throw out of order the present wage-system of labor. It is (the only) measure that will permanently increase wages without at the same time increasing the cost of the production of wealth. It will decrease the poverty and increase the wealth of all wage-laborers. And it will after a few years gradually merge the wage-system of labor into a system of industrial co-operation in which wages will represent the earnings and not (as now) the necessities of the wage-laborer.

Messrs. Crawford and Powers moved the endorsement of the declaration as the sense of the Congress.

Mr. Gompers opposed it on the ground that he did not think the majority of his constituents were ready for the practical endorsement and enforcement of the measure.

Mr. F. K. Foster moved to amend by striking out the words "the only," and inserting the indefinite article "a." Amendment adopted.

Messrs. Gompers and McIntyre moved to amend by striking out the sentence "It will lighten the burden of carrying the useless classes," and inserting "It will lighten the burden on society by providing work for the unemployed."

The amendment was accepted, and the declaration as amended was endorsed.

EMPLOYERS' LIABILITY ACT.

The committee recommended the adoption of the following resolution, introduced by Frank K. Foster:

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Committee be instructed to concentrate effort the coming year in obtaining the passage of an Employers' Liability Act by our various legislative bodies.

The following form of petition was handed in by Mr. Foster in connection with the foregoing:

To

WHEREAS, No employee can recover damages from his employer for personal injuries caused by the negligence of a fellow-employee, the under-signed, workmen and employers of labor, respectfully ask that a law may be enacted which will give employees the same right to damages for personal injuries that all other persons have, and which will make common employment no longer a legal defense for action for personal injuries.

The resolution was adopted.

Unions may be entitled to representation upon payment of \$10 per annum, (and per capita tax on membership over 500)."

We further recommend that the International Typographical Union be requested to pay the balance of their per capita tax for this session as required of other bodies here represented.

ED. W. FITZGERALD,
SAMUEL GOMPERS,
G. EDMONSTON.

The words in brackets were suggested by Mr. Grenell and accepted by the committee as part of their report.

On motion the report was received and the different sections ordered to be considered separately.

Mr. Gompers took the floor in opposition to

THIRD DAY—Morning Session.

The Trades Congress assembled at the specified hour, President Sam. L. Leffingwell in the chair.

The roll was called, and the minutes of the previous day were read and confirmed.

Mr. Gompers was entitled to the floor, but stated that he had on the previous afternoon finished all he wished to say on the first section of the report of the Committee on Basis of Representation and Per Capita Tax.

REPRESENTATION AND REVENUE.

On the subject of the amendment to Article IV. of the Plan of Organization, as reported by the same committee, Mr. Fitzgerald said: "I am in favor of admitting the Knights of Labor to equal representation with the regular trade unions. I do not want to see two grand bodies of organized mechanics and workmen so far forget themselves as to emulate the great religious denominations of the world, which, instead of harmonizing together and performing the good for which they were intended, continually quarrel among themselves and accomplish little. Let us unite, for in unity there is strength. Once united, there is nothing we can not accomplish."

General discussion ensued, and Article IV., as amended, was adopted.

The next amendment reported by the committee, fixing the per capita tax at 2 cents per annum, was read.

Mr. F. K. Foster moved to amend the report by striking out "two cents" and inserting "one cent."

This motion was supported by Mr. Clasby and opposed by Messrs. Gompers, Cannon, Klokke and Powers.

construing "local trade unions" in the first proposed amendment in the report to mean local Assemblies of the Knights of Labor.

During his remarks the hour of adjournment arrived.

Mr. Powers asked the indulgence of the Congress to introduce the following:

RESOLVED, That this convention tender a vote of thanks to the members of the Common Council of the City of Cleveland for the honor conferred on the Labor Congress by that body in adopting at its meeting on Monday a resolution to hoist the city flag on the occasion of our assembling here.

The resolution was unanimously adopted and the Congress adjourned.

The question, on being put, was carried, in the affirmative, by the following vote:

Yeas—Clasby, Crawford, F. K. Foster, W. H. Foster, Grenell, Howard, Leffingwell, Mackenzie, McIntyre, Murch—10.

Nays—Cannon, Colliss, Fitzgerald, Gompers, Klokke, Miller, Powers—6.

The amendment was then adopted as amended.

The section permitting local trade unions to be represented on payment of \$10 per annum and per capita tax on membership over 500 was adopted, as was also the recommendation of the committee on the subject of per capita tax from the International Typographical Union, after which the report, as amended, was adopted as a whole.

On motion all matters pertaining to basis of representation and per capita tax not already passed upon by the Congress were ordered referred back to the proper committee for further consideration.

TIME AND PLACE OF NEXT MEETING.

The report of the Committee on Next Place of Meeting was read as follows:

Cleveland, O., November 22, 1882.

The committee to which was referred the selecting a place of meeting for the next Congress beg leave to report that, after careful consideration, they recommend the city of New York as the next place of meeting of this Congress, and also recommend that the time be changed to the second Tuesday in August, 1883.

All of which is submitted for your consideration.
KENNETH MACKENZIE,
R. POWERS,
JUDSON GRENELL,
T. H. MURCH,
GEORGE A. COLLISS,
F. K. FOSTER,
SAM. L. LEFFINGWELL.

On motion of Mr. Gompers the committee's recommendation of New York as the place for holding the next session of the Federation was concurred in.

Considerable discussion took place to the most appropriate month in which to meet, and Mr. F. K. Foster moved to amend the committee's report by striking out "second" and inserting "third," making the third Tuesday in August the date for assembling the third annual Congress of the Federation.

(Vice-President Gompers was called to the chair.)

Mr. Leffingwell took the floor to advocate the holding of the Convention in September, after the Convention of the General Assembly of the Knights of Labor.

The amendment of Mr. Foster was agreed to, and the report, as amended, was adopted.

Mr. Edmonston introduced a memorial from the Women's National Industrial League, which was referred to the Committee on Standing Orders.

COTTON DESPOTS.

Mr. Howard offered the following:

RESOLVED, That, owing to the unjust and unwarranted action of the Pacific Corporation of Lawrence, Mass., in reducing the wages of its operatives from 10 to 25 per cent. in the face of dividends of over 20 per cent, which had been declared on an average by said corporation during the nineteen years preceding, we advise the representatives present to urge members of their respective unions to refrain in the future from purchasing any cotton or woolen goods bearing thereon the trade mark of the above corporation.

Mr. Howard spoke at some length upon the condition of the operatives in the cotton mills of Massachusetts, and especially the female portion. He claimed that the injustice done them in the matter of low wages and long hours was a disgrace to God and humanity. The speaker claimed that the reduction recently made in their wages was unwarranted and a gross injustice to the many who are obliged to earn their livelihood by that kind of work. He stated that from 1863 to the time of the strike in 1882 the Pacific mills had paid 38 1/2 per cent. in dividends on \$2,500,000 capital, or 29 1/9 per cent. per year for nineteen years. He also said that the capital of the concern had increased from \$2,500,000 to \$5,000,000. Notwithstanding this fact, he said, the owners of the mill had forced their girl operatives out into the street and threatened them with starvation unless they would consent to a reduction of 18 cents on 85 cents a day. He claimed that more girls were forced from the paths of rectitude because of the low wages paid than by any other means.

Mr. Frank Foster also spoke earnestly on the same subject.

Mr. Powers advocated the adoption of the resolution.

Mr. Gompers recounted what he had seen of the wrongs inflicted on the cotton operatives of Cohoes, N. Y., by the despotic Harmony Mills corporation, which owned everything in Cohoes, even to the water the people drank. The churches, houses, everything was in the hands of the Harmony people. He moved that it be included in the resolution by adding "or that of the Harmony Mills, Cohoes, N. Y."

The resolution as amended was unanimously adopted.

A HUMANE CAPITALIST.

Similar action was taken with the following introduced by Mr. Edmonston. The gentleman referred to is a boss builder of Cleveland, Ohio.

RESOLVED, That we commend the action of Jacob W. Perkins as that of a fair minded Christian capitalist, wherein he provided for the maintenance of the impoverished families of his employees who were so untimely removed by an accident while in his employ.

INCORPORATION OF TRADES UNIONS.

By Mr. Gompers:

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Committee be instructed to use their best endeavors to secure the passage of acts in the several Legislatures for the incorporation of trades unions, and to accord to them the same rights enjoyed by associations of capital.

Adopted.

THE TENEMENT HOUSE BILL.

By Mr. Gompers:

RESOLVED, That we condemn and hold up to public contumely and contempt the members of the Legislature of the State of New York who were instrumental in stealing the Bill to Prohibit the Manufacture of Cigars in Tenement Houses after the same had passed the Senate of said State and the chances for its passage in the lower House were good; and the Legislative Committee are hereby instructed to assist in the passage of a law putting an end to this nefarious system.

Adopted.

STATE FEDERATIONS.

W. H. Foster offered the following as an amendment to Article II. of the Plan of Organization, to be known as Section 3, the present sections 3 and 4, to be changed to 4 and 5 respectively:

The encouragement and formation of State and Provincial Federation of Trade and Labor Unions.

Referred to Committee on Standing Orders.

THE CHINESE.

The following, by Mr. Gompers, was referred to the same committee:

RESOLVED, That we view with alarm the decision of Assistant Secretary French, by which large numbers of Chinese are permitted

to land on our shores, frustrating the very intent of the act prohibiting their importation.

RESOLVED, That the legislative Committee be instructed to procure a decision giving a true interpretation of the said act, and if necessary to secure an amendment to cover the purpose of the law.

The same course was taken with a resolution on the subject of land tenure, introduced by Mr. Grenell.

EIGHT-HOUR LAW.

Mr. Murch asked unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of and action upon the following:

RESOLVED, By this Convention of Trade and Labor Unions, assembled in the city of Cleveland, Ohio, representing 300,000 workmen, that we believe that the provisions of the National Eight-hour Law are so plain and unequivocal that on further legislation is necessary to interpretation of this law.

RESOLVED, That the enforcement of the National Eight-hour Law will secure the adoption of similar provisions in nearly all the States of the Union.

RESOLVED, That we, in the name of our constituents, demand the immediate and impartial enforcement of the National Eight-hour Law by the President of the United States.

Adopted.

Mr. Mackenzie moved that a Committee of Five on Organization be appointed to devise some plan for the selection of organizers sanctioned by the Federation.

The Chair (Mr. Gompers) suggested that he make his motion to empower the Legislative Committee to appoint propagandists.

After some discussion a motion prevailed to refer the matter to a special Committee on Organization, to report at 3 o'clock. Committee appointed: Messrs. Mackenzie, Grenell, Edmonston, Howard, Klokke, Clasby and Cannon.

On motion of Messrs. Murch and Grenell the Secretary was instructed to write to President Arthur, enclosing a copy of the eight-hour resolution as soon as possible.

Noon recess.

THIRD DAY—Afternoon Session.

On the Congress reassembling, Vice-President Gompers in the chair, Hon. Martin A. Foran entered the hall.

Having been appropriately introduced by the Chair, Mr. Foran made a brief address to the delegates.

MR. FORAN'S REMARKS:

I recognize in this body a great power. It has been said that much can be done in the interest of labor by men elected to office if they perform faithfully the duty imposed upon them. I assert that no one man can do much in that respect, but if the workmen elect a majority to represent them and to work in their interest, then some good can be accomplished. When the workmen of the country become awakened to their necessities they can act, and it is not often they fail when they once realize the true condition of matters. When men are elected to fill office they too often become ambitious and make Czars, and Czars we do not want. Mr. J. H. Wade once said that the workmen are a powerful faction, but lack harmony and proper leaders. Organization is what is wanted. We need in this country a central organization of labor, which will be a body that will be obeyed by the whole mass of workmen. Probably this organization will eventually accomplish that end. The laws of this country are mostly

in favor of capitalists, so that a workingman has very little at his command. Supposing a man becomes injured while in the performance of his duty, what hope has he of receiving proper aid from his employer? This subject should be looked after. This country is now controlled by the manufacturing interests, and the working people should be thoroughly united for the maintenance of their rights. Another thing needful by the laboring classes is suitable reading, that they may educate the masses and enable them to think and act for themselves. He urged upon the workmen the necessity of united action, and told them to fight their battles at the polls. If they only would do so, he said, they would soon be able to count their representatives on the floors of Congress not by the dozen but by the hundred. They should learn to ignore political parties and leaders and learn to vote for their own interests. Then, and not until then, may the working people of the country hope to have their rightful claims sustained.

A recess was then taken and the Congressman was introduced to each individual member of the Congress.

COMMUNICATED SUGGESTIONS.

A letter of greeting was received from P. J. McGuire, General Secretary of the Brother-

hood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, in the name of his organization. It urged not political but industrial unity as the prime object that the Federation should aim at—not by prescribing a stereotyped, uniform plan of organization for all, regardless of their experience or necessities, nor by antagonizing or aiming to destroy existing organizations, but by preserving all that is integral in them and by widening their scope so that each, without submerging its individuality, may act with the others in all that concerns them. The benefit of this Federation was not only to render pecuniary and moral assistance in case of strikes or lock-outs, but its very existence would lessen the number of these conflicts by causing unscrupulous employers to hesitate before declaring war on employees reinforced by such a body. A systematic plan of propaganda should be inaugurated, and labor tracts and pamphlets could be disseminated at small cost. This would, of course, need proper support. The workmen of Great Britain, France, Spain, Italy, Switzerland, Belgium, Holland, Austria and Denmark had held largely attended congresses during the past year; and just as these developed they would tend to mutual correspondence and open up friendly relations between the workmen of all countries that would lead to "an era of peace and good-will among nations," and place a check on the transportation of labor from one country in order to cheapen it in another at the behest of capital. We wanted an enactment by the workmen themselves that on a given day eight hours should constitute a day's work, and they ought to enforce it themselves. The letter concluded: "Let us as union men work in harmony for those issues we comprehend and upon which we are fully agreed, and ignore all questions likely to divide us."

Enclosed with the communication were two credentials, one authorizing Gabriel Edmonston, of Washington, D. C., to represent the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners in the present session of the Federation, and the other for Donald McIntosh, of Cleveland, Ohio, as alternate.

Mr. Edmonston, being already a delegate from the Federation of Trades Unions of the District of Columbia, moved that the credential of Mr. McIntosh be accepted and that gentleman seated as the regular delegate of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners.

The motion was concurred in.

A FRIENDLY JOURNAL.

The Colliss introduced a resolution of thanks to the Elmira *Telegram* for its course in the

case of the strike of shoe-makers at J. Richardson & Company's establishment in that city, which was referred to the Committee on Standing Orders.

(A recess was here declared to allow committees time to deliberate and report.)

The Committee on Standing Orders reported favorably on the following, introduced by Mr. Colliss:

RESOLVED, That we heartily endorse the Elmira Sunday *Telegram* in its course pursued in boycotting J. Richardson & Co., boot and shoe manufacturers of that city, who, upon their employees asking for a small increase in wages, entered into a contract with the Commissioners of the Elmira Reformatory, taking 200 prisoners to make their boots and shoes.

Mr. Stoll (a reporter, and a member of Cleveland Typographical Union), who represented that paper, explained that it was a strictly union publication, and devoted a portion of its income to the labor cause.

The resolution was adopted.

LADY DELEGATES.

The Committee on Standing Orders reported favorably on the memorial of the Women's National Industrial League, and recommended that that organization be admitted to representation in future sessions of the Federation.

Mr. Edmonston explained that the organization in question was a bona fide trade union, and devoted its energies to the formation of such societies of women.

A substitute for the report, offered by Mr. Gompers, was adopted as follows:

RESOLVED, That this Congress extend to all women's labor organizations representation in the future annual congresses of this Federation upon an equal footing with trade organizations of men.

The committee reported in favor of the adoption of the resolution of Mr. Gompers in reference to the decision of Assistant Secretary French as to the constitutionality of the act to suspend the immigration of Chinese laborers.

The recommendation of the committee was confirmed.

TENTURE OF LAND.

The committee reported adversely on the following resolution, offered by Mr. Grenell, they believing it impracticable:

RESOLVED, That we believe that the present system of land tenure in America is detrimental to our interests as wage workers, and that some system should be adopted that will guarantee to all an equitable share of the natural resources of the land.

Mr. Grenell read a lengthy paper in support of his resolution. He said: "For years the cry of the toilers has been for equity in the

distribution of the results of human exertion—for the full results of their toil. Land, of right, belongs to all, and its private ownership means a monopoly for the benefit of the few to the detriment of the many. It forces from the enterprise of the manufacturer and from the product of the laborer the last penny. The land-holder stretches forth his hand, and says: 'Give me! I toil not; but the land you have made valuable is mine,' and the increased profits is diverted into his coffers. With land monopolies wages will be absorbed in rent for that which no man created and of which no one can hold exclusive possession. With land free to those who will cultivate it, no one will work for another for less than he can produce from the land. The natural increment of wealth from the increase of population goes into the pockets of the owners of land. It should go into the pockets of all who, by their presence and exertions, have contributed to it.

Mr. Powers spoke adversely upon the adoption of the resolution, claiming that the subject was too gigantic for the members to grapple, but should be left to the body politic.

Mr. Foster, of Massachusetts, spoke likewise upon the matter, stating that as trades unionists they had no right to take up such questions that do not properly come within their scope.

Mr. Gompers made extensive remarks on the subject. He denied that land controlled wages, and declared that wages controlled land and everything else. High wages, he said, bring about labor-saving machinery, and every introduction of that kind meant that articles can be purchased cheaper by the working class.

FOURTH DAY—Morning Session.

The Labor Congress assembled at the prescribed hour, Vice-President Samuel Gompers in the chair.

The roll was called, and the minutes of the previous day were read and approved.

On motion a Special Auditing Committee was ordered appointed, to whom should be referred all bills and accounts connected with the present session. Committee: Messrs. Cannon, Crawford and Mackenzie.

The Committee on Standing Orders reported favorably on the following resolution, offered by Mr. Edmonston, and it was adopted as read:

For instance, to have a box of goods taken to California from Cleveland it would cost say \$5 with wages of men at \$3 per day. To have it taken an equal distance in China, in the absence of the necessary machinery, at wages at 7 cents a day, it would cost as much as \$10. If the private ownership of land is wrong, the private ownership of the products of that land is wrong. "It is not the ownership of land that should be fought, but the doings of the capitalists we are organized to oppose," declared the speaker.

Mr. McIntyre thought that too much time had been taken in an argument which trades unionists have no right to consider.

Some further discussion ensued, in which several delegates favored the resolution as individuals, who recognized the present system as iniquitous, but, as representatives responsible to constituencies with views perhaps less progressive than their own, were obliged to support the recommendation of the committee.

The report of the committee was adopted.

In accordance with the committee's recommendation W. H. Foster's amendment making the encouragement and formation of State Federations of Trades Unions part of the objects of the Federation, was adopted as read.

A further recommendation of the committee, providing for an amendment admitting District Assemblies of the Knights of Labor on the same basis and terms as Trades Assemblies, was agreed to.

A motion was passed making the election of a General Secretary and Legislative Committee a special order for 10 A. M. next day. Friday.

Adjourned.

WHEREAS, It has been frequently asserted by public functionaries that the organizations of workmen are conspiracies, and Legislatures have enacted laws for their punishment as common criminals; and,

WHEREAS, Individual progress is an important factor in solving the labor problem; therefore,

RESOLVED, That we, the representatives of the organized labor of the United States, in order to shake off and counteract the oppressive exactions of an oligarchy now threatening the existence of democratic government, hereby declare open political resistance to the men and measures now holding our lives and our thoughts in subjection.

ELECTION OF GENERAL SECRETARY.

The hour of ten o'clock having arrived, the Chair declared the business before the Federation to be the nomination and election of a General Secretary and Legislative Committee.

W. H. Foster was placed in nomination for General Secretary by Mr. Crawford.

On motion the nominee was by acclamation made the unanimous choice of the Congress, and the Chair so declared it.

ELECTION OF LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE.

A committee of one from each State represented was, on motion, ordered appointed to report nominations for the Legislative Committee, which the Chair selected as follows: Illinois, Mark L. Crawford; Massachusetts, Frank K. Foster; Ohio, Donald McIntosh; New Jersey, Hugo Miller; Michigan, Judson Grenell; District of Columbia, Gabriel Edmonston; New York, Kenneth Mackenzie.

The committee retired immediately for consultation, and a recess was declared. In a short time the committee returned, and business was resumed by the reading of the following report:

Cleveland, Ohio, November 24, 1882.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada:

Gentlemen: Your Committee on selection of candidates for the Legislative Committee beg leave to report that they have selected the following names as such committee: Samuel Gompers, Robert Howard, Gabriel Edmonston and Richard Powers.

Respectfully submitted,
MARK L. CRAWFORD,
DONALD MCINTOSH,
KENNETH MACKENZIE,
F. K. FOSTER,
JUDSON GRENELL,
HUGO MILLER,
G. EDMONSTON.

[The Chair called Mr. F. K. Foster to preside.]

On motion the report was received.

Mr. Crawford moved that the names reported be declared by acclamation the choice of the Federation to serve as the Legislative Committee up to the time of holding the next annual session.

The motion was unanimously concurred in, and the gentlemen whose names were reported were declared duly elected.

Mr. Gompers [resuming the chair] thanked the Federation for the honor conferred, and was followed by brief expressions of thanks from Messrs. W. H. Foster and Robert Howard.

STATE FEDERATION.

The following report was read, and, after some discussion, the report and amendments therein contained were adopted:

To the Congress of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of United States and Canada:

Gentlemen—Your committee to whom was referred the matter of revenue and per capita tax recommend the following: Add to Article 4 a new section, to be known as section 2, the same to read as follows:

Sec. 2. State or Provincial Federations of Trades or Labor Unions shall be entitled to representation in the Congress of the Federation by two delegates.

Add to Article 7 another section, to be known as section 3, as follows:

Sec. 3. State and Provincial Federations of Trades and Labor Unions shall pay ten dollars for each delegate sent by them to the Congress.

[Signed] ED. W. FITZGERALD,
SAMUEL GOMPERS,
GABRIEL EDMONSTON.

The following dispatch was read and ordered spread on the minutes:

Elmira, N. Y., November 24, 1882.

Geo. C. Stoll, 55 Seneca Street, Cleveland, Ohio:

On behalf of the *Telegram* extend to the officers and delegates of the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada, now assembled in Cleveland, our heartfelt thanks for their kind consideration, and believe us to be in the future, as in the past.

Yours for truth and justice,
H. S. BROOKS,
Managing Editor of the *Telegram*.

INVITATION TO BANQUET.

A communication from the Cleveland Trades Assembly was read, as follows:

Cleveland, Ohio, November 24, 1882.

To the Officers and Members of the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions, Greeting:

The Trades and Labor Assembly of Cleveland, Ohio, fully appreciating the honor you have done them and their fellow-citizens of Cleveland in assembling in their city, do hereby tender you a cordial invitation to a banquet given in your honor at the Striebinger House this evening. A public ball will also be given in the City Armory, to which yourselves and friends are cordially invited.

GEORGE A. COLLISS, President.
W. J. CANNON, Secretary.

On motion of Mr. Crawford the invitation was accepted with thanks.

PLASTERERS' NATIONAL UNION.

W. H. Foster moved that delegates be requested to urge the Plasterers' Unions in their respective localities to unite with the Plasterers' National Union if not already attached to that organization, and to exert themselves to form unions under the jurisdiction of that body where no organization of plasterers exists.

The motion was adopted.

The report of the Committee on Platform was received, voted upon by sections, and after being amended to some extent, adopted as a whole as printed in the beginning of this pamphlet.

The Legislative Committee was, on motion, directed to have the proceedings printed, the number ordered to be at their discretion.

A motion to insert in full in the proceedings the paper of Mr. F. K. Foster, entitled "Protection vs. Wages," was opposed by Mr. Miller.

Mr. Foster himself thought the course suggested by the motion would be injudicious.

A substitute was adopted directing that a synopsis of the paper be published in the proceedings.

THE LAND QUESTION.

The Federation concurred in the following, offered by Mr. Grenell.

RESOLVED, That this Congress recommends the careful consideration of the land question to the labor organizations of the country, in order that intelligent action may be taken in the future handling of this great subject.

Mr. Clasby offered the following, which, after discussion, was adopted:

WHEREAS, Harmonious action in the work of upbuilding trades organizations is of vital importance to success; therefore,

RESOLVED, That the practice of over-zealous partisans, who seek to build up their own by tearing down others, should cease, and their superabundant energies should be directed toward organized labor.

A motion prevailed that the copies of proceedings of the Pittsburg session remaining in the hands of the Legislative Committee be presented to Cleveland Trades Assembly.

It was agreed, on motion of Mr. Crawford, that the matter of representation of labor interests before the United States Congress on the part of the Federation be relegated to the Legislative Committee for future action.

Adjourned till 3:30 P. M., a motion to suspend the rules for that purpose having been adopted.

FOURTH DAY—Afternoon Session.

PROPAGANDISTS.

The Committee on Organization made the following report:

We recommend that the Legislative Committee have power to appoint Organizers for the dissemination of any documents issued by the Federation or Legislative Committee, and for such other purposes as they may deem advisable.

KENNETH MACKENZIE,
JUDSON GRENELL,
JOHN CLASBY,
W. J. CANNON,
ROBERT HOWARD,
FRED J. KLOCKE.

Report adopted.

The special committee to audit the accounts of the present session presented the following report, which was adopted as read:

Cleveland, O., November 24, 1882.

To the Officers and Members of the Federated Trades and Labor Congress:

Gentlemen:—Your committee to whom was referred the accounts of the Convention respectfully report that the receipts as per itemized reports since the commencement of the session are as follows:

RECEIPTS.

Nov. 21, Received by Secretary, as per itemized report, including Treasurer's balance.....	\$223 20
Nov. 24, From R. Powers, sale of proceedings.....	5 00
Nov. 24, Per capita from Lake Seamen's Union.....	60 00
Nov. 24, Per capita from Granite Cutters' National Union.....	60 00
	\$348 20

EXPENDITURES.

Nov. 24, To Lake Seamen's Union, money advanced as per itemized report.....	\$150 00
Nov. 24, To R. Powers, telegrams, postage, etc.....	5 00
Nov. 24, To W. H. Foster, as per itemized report ..	59 55
Nov. 24, To Samuel Gompers, as per itemized report.....	6 00
Nov. 24, To S. Sloss, rent of hall.....	30 00
Nov. 24, To G. A. Colliss, for stationery, etc.....	1 70
	\$252 25
Receipts over disbursements.....	95 95
	\$348 20

WM. J. CANNON,
KENNETH MACKENZIE,
M. L. CRAWFORD,
Committee on Audit.

The following resolutions were adopted as offered:

By Mr. Gompers:

RESOLVED, That we will refrain, and use our best endeavors to influence all workingmen to refrain from smoking cigars or frequenting places where cigars are sold that do not bear the union label.

By Mr. Edmonston:

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Committee be authorized to take charge of the work begun by the Federation of Labor in the District of Columbia and direct the same, with power to enlarge the committee when the best interests of labor require a proper presentation of statistics, etc., before Congress to substantiate our demands.

By Mr. Powers:

RESOLVED, That we concur in the late action of the Seamen's Union of North America, at Cleveland, in their appeal to the Congress of the United States, for the enactment and enforcement of such laws as will preserve the life and health of seamen upon the waters of our northern lakes; compelling all vessels, steam and sail, to carry a proper number of competent seamen, the number to be regulated by the tonnage of the vessel; requiring proper sanitary inspection and regulation of all vessels, to the end that the present sacrifice of human life, caused by the unhealthy condition of the living and sleeping apartments, may be prevented; the repeal of laws permitting United States Marshals to charge a fee of fifteen dollars for executing a libel for wages upon a vessel; to regulate the loading of vessels; to prevent the discharging and laying off of crews in foreign parts; and that Congress shall make provision for the inspection of all sailing vessels as well as steam vessels.

By Mr. Crawford:

RESOLVED, That the thanks of the Congress are hereby tendered to the trades unions of the city of Cleveland for the kind attention given to the delegates of this Congress; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the thanks of this Congress are hereby tendered to the newspapers of Cleveland for their impartial reports of the proceedings.

Mr. Richard Powers called attention to the fact that an impression had gone out that this Congress had ignored the Knights of Labor,

when, on the contrary, it had decided that the Knights of Labor shall have an equal representation in the Federation. He desired to have this action fully understood.

The minutes of the day having been read and approved, and the Divine blessing having been invoked by Mr. Mackenzie, the Federation adjourned *sine die*, to meet in New York on the third Tuesday in August, 1883.

LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE.

Immediately after the adjournment of the Federation, W. H. Foster, General Secretary, called the Legislative Committee to order for organization.

Mr. Samuel Gompers was nominated for Chairman, and, there being no further nominations, that gentleman was, on motion, declared the unanimous choice of the committee for the position.

Mr. Foster surrendered the gavel to Mr. Gompers, and assumed his position as Secretary.

The organization of the committee was completed by choosing unanimously for the following offices the respective gentlemen here named: First Vice-Chairman, Richard Powers; Second Vice-Chairman, Gabriel Edmonston; Treasurer, Robert Howard.

1883

Report of the Third Annual Session

OF THE

Federation of Organized Trades and Labor
Unions of the United States
and Canada

HELD IN

NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK

August 21, 22, 23 and 24

1883

Published by Authority of the Federation
PRICE TEN CENTS

FEDERATION
OF
Organized Trades and Labor Unions
OF THE
UNITED STATES AND CANADA.

Declaration of Principles.

PREAMBLE.

WHEREAS, A struggle is going on in the nations of the civilized world between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries,—a struggle between the capitalist and the laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the toiling millions of all nations if not combined for mutual protection and benefit; and

WHEREAS, The history of the wage-workers of all countries is but the history of constant struggle and misery engendered by ignorance and disunion; and

WHEREAS, The history of the non-producers of all ages proves that a minority, thoroughly organized, may work wonders for good or evil:—

It therefore behooves the representatives of the workers of North America, in Congress assembled, to adopt such measures and disseminate such principles among the people of our country as will unite them, for all time to come, to secure the recognition of the rights to which they are justly entitled. Conforming to the old adage, "In union there is strength," the formation of a Federation embracing every trade and labor organization in North America, a union founded upon a basis as broad as the land we live in, is our greatest hope; for the past history of trades unions proves that small organizations, well conducted, have accomplished great good, yet that their efforts have not been of that lasting character which a thorough unification of all the different branches of industrial workers is bound to secure.

Conforming to the spirit of the times, and to the necessities of the industrial classes, we make the following

PLATFORM.

1. The National Eight Hour Law is one intended to benefit labor, and to relieve it partly of its heavy burdens, and the evasion of its true spirit and intent is contrary to the best interests of the nation. We therefore demand the enforcement of said law in the spirit of its designers.

2. We demand the passage of laws in State Legislatures and in Congress for the incorporation of Trades and Labor Unions, in order that the property of the laboring classes may have the same protection as the property of other classes.

3. We demand the passage of such Legislative enactments as will enforce, by compulsion, the education of children; for if the State has the right to exact certain compliance with its demands, then it is also the duty of the State to educate its people to the proper understanding of such demands.

4. We demand the passage of laws in the several states forbidding the employment of children under the age of fourteen years, in any capacity, under penalty of fine and imprisonment.

5. We demand the enactment of uniform apprentice laws throughout the country; that the apprentice to a mechanical trade may be made to serve a sufficient term of apprenticeship, and be provided by his employer, in his progress to maturity, with proper and sufficient facilities to finish him as a competent workman.

6. It is hereby declared the sense of this Congress that convict or prison labor, as applied to the contract system in several of the States, is a species of slavery in its worst form: it pauperizes labor, demoralizes the honest manufacturer, and degrades the very criminal whom it employs; and, as many articles of use and consumption made in our prisons under the contract system come directly and detrimentally in competition with the products of honest labor, we demand that the laws providing for labor under the contract systems herein complained of be repealed.

7. What is known as the "order" or "truck" system of payment, instead of lawful currency as value for labor performed, is one not only of gross imposition, but of downright swindle to the honest laborer and mechanic, and we demand its entire abolition. Active measures should be taken to eradicate the evil by the passage of laws imposing fine and imprisonment upon all individuals, firms, or corporations who continue to practice the same.

8. We demand the passage of such laws as will secure to the mechanic and workman the first lien upon property, the product of his

labor, sufficient in all cases to justify his legal and just claims.

9. We demand the repeal and erasure from the statute books of all acts known as conspiracy laws, as applied to organizations of labor in the regulation of wages.

10. We recognize the wholesome effects of a Bureau of Labor Statistics as created in several States; and we demand the passage of an act establishing a National Bureau of Labor Statistics, and recommend for its management the appointment of a proper person, identified with the laboring classes of the country.

11. We demand the passage of a law by the United States Congress to prevent the importation of all foreign laborers under contract.

12. We declare that the system of letting out Government work by contract tends to intensify the competition between workmen; and we demand the speedy abolishment of the same.

13. We demand the passage, by our various Legislative bodies, of an Employers' Liability Act, which shall give employees the same right to damages for personal injuries that all other persons have.

14. We recommend all trades and labor organizations to secure proper representation in all law-making bodies, by means of the ballot, and to use all honorable measures by which this result can be accomplished.

SUPPLEMENTARY RESOLUTIONS.

1. That we urge upon the Legislatures of our several States the passage of laws of license upon stationary engineers, and the enforcement of proper restrictions, which will better preserve and render protection to life and property.

2. That we demand strict laws for the inspection and ventilation of mines, factories, and workshops, and sanitary supervision of all food and dwellings.

ORGANIZATION.

ARTICLE I.—NAME.

This association shall be known as "The Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States of America and Canada," and shall consist of such Trades and Labor Unions as shall, after being duly admitted, conform to its rules and regulations, and pay all contributions required to carry out the objects of this Federation.

ARTICLE II.—OBJECTS.

The objects of this Federation shall be:—
Section 1. The encouragement and formation of Trades and Labor Unions.

Sec. 2. The encouragement and formation of Trades and Labor Assemblies or Councils.

Sec. 3. The encouragement and formation of State and Provincial Federations of Trades and Labor Unions.

Sec. 4. The encouragement and formation of National and International Trades Unions.

Sec. 5. To secure legislation favorable to the interests of the industrial classes.

ARTICLE III.—SESSIONS.

The sessions of the Federation shall be held annually, on the first Tuesday in October, at such place as the delegates have selected at the preceding Congress.

ARTICLE IV.—REPRESENTATION.

The basis of representation in the Congress of this Federation shall be: From National or

International Unions, for 1,000 members or less, one delegate; for 4,000, two delegates; for 8,000, three delegates; for 16,000, four delegates; for 32,000, five delegates; and so on. For State or Provincial Federations of Trades unions, two delegates. From local Trades Assemblies or Councils, District Assemblies of the Knights of Labor, or Local Trades Unions, one delegate. But no local Trades Union shall be entitled to representation which has not been organized six months prior to the session of this body.

ARTICLE V.—OFFICERS.

Section 1. At the annual session of the Federation the delegates shall elect a Legislative Committee of nine, consisting of the President, First, Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Vice-Presidents, Secretary and Treasurer.

Sec. 2. In the election of officers the election of Secretary shall take precedence.

ARTICLE VI.—DUTIES OF OFFICERS.

The duty of the Legislative Committee shall be to exercise a supervision over the organization, and the execution of its laws, and to carry out such instructions as may from time to time be given them at the sessions of this Federation.

ARTICLE VII.—REVENUE.

Section 1. The revenue of this Federation shall be derived from each National or International Trade or Labor Union, and each Trades Assembly or Council, or District Assembly of the Knights of Labor affiliated with this Federation; and shall be assessed upon the following basis: For 1,000 members or less, \$10 per annum; 1,000 to 4,000, \$20; 4,000 to 8,000, \$25; 8,000 to 12,000, \$30; 12,000 to 20,000, \$40; over 20,000, \$50.

Sec. 2. Local Trades Unions may be entitled to representation upon payment of \$10 per annum.

Sec. 3. State or Provincial Federations of Trades Unions shall pay \$10 per annum for each delegate sent by them to the sessions of this Federation.

ARTICLE VIII.—ACCOUNTS.

The accounts of the year shall be closed fourteen days prior to the assembling of the Congress, and a balance sheet duly certified and presented to the same.

ARTICLE IX.—REMUNERATION.

The remuneration for loss of time by the Legislative Committee shall be at the rate of \$3 per diem; traveling and incidental expenses to be also defrayed.

STANDING ORDERS.

1. The annual meeting of this Federation shall be held on the first Tuesday in October, at such place as the delegates to the preceding Congress may have selected.

2. The time of the meeting shall be as follows: On the first day, to assemble at noon; on all other days, at 9 A. M.; adjourn at 12:30; reassemble at 1:30; and adjourn at 5 P. M. each day.

3. At the opening of the Congress the Chairman of the Legislative Committee shall take the chair until the Congress has elected its own President, which shall be its first business. The

Congress shall then elect a Vice-President, two Secretaries, two Auditors, a Doorkeeper and Messenger.

4. A Standing Orders Committee shall then be elected, to whom shall be remitted the whole business of the Congress, the discussions, together with the whole financial arrangements of the Congress.

5. The Congress having been formally opened by the President, the Legislative Committee shall present their report for the past year, which shall be read by the Secretary, and shall be laid on the table for discussion by the Congress; said report shall contain a list of the committee meetings, with dates and names of those present.

6. The reader of a paper shall be allowed twenty minutes; the mover of a resolution, fifteen minutes; succeeding speakers, ten minutes each. No one to speak more than twice on any one subject.

7. No second amendment to an original proposition shall be put to a vote until the amendment is disposed of.

8. No papers shall be read except those which are required for legislative purposes; no member to read more than one paper.

9. All papers shall be sent to the Secretary of the Legislative Committee, at least two weeks before the meeting of the ensuing Congress, the same to be read and arranged by the Committee, in order to facilitate the business of the Congress.

10. Should a vacancy occur in the office of Secretary or Treasurer between the annual meetings of the Congress, the Legislative Committee shall have power to fill the vacancy from their own number.

11. The duties of the Legislative Committee shall be to watch legislative measures directly affecting the question of labor; to initiate, whenever necessary, such legislative action as the Congress may direct, or as the exigencies of the time and circumstances may demand.

12. No candidate shall be elected on the Legislative Committee unless he is a delegate from his own trade society, or represents a Trades Council; and the body so represented must have contributed its capitation tax during the year previous to his nomination.

13. All surplus moneys, after the payment of the expenses of the Congress, shall be handed over to the Treasurer of the Legislative Committee, for the general purposes of such committee.

14. The Legislative Committee shall assist and co-operate with the Local Committee of the city where the next Congress is to be held, for the purpose of making the arrangements as complete as possible, and preparing the questions to be discussed, and together to take such joint action as the business or other special circumstances of the time may render necessary or desirable.

15. A sub-committee of the Legislative Committee, consisting of the Secretary and Treasurer, shall meet, two days before the meeting of each Congress, to arrange matters for the Congress.

16. The Legislative Committee shall be members of the succeeding Congress, from which they have been credited, but without a vote.

RULES.

1. At the appointed time the Chairman shall call the Congress to order.

2. During the hours of meeting no delegate

will be allowed to leave the room, unless on special business.

3. Every delegate, when he rises to speak, shall respectfully address the Chair. While speaking, he shall confine himself to the question.

4. Should two or more rise to speak at the same time, the Chair shall decide who is entitled to the floor.

5. No delegate shall interrupt another in his remarks, unless to call him to order for words spoken, or for the purpose of explanation.

6. If a delegate, while speaking, be called to order, he shall, at the request of the Chair, take his seat until the question of order is determined, when, if permitted, he may proceed again.

7. A delegate shall not speak more than once on the same subject or question until all who wish to speak shall have had an opportunity to do so; nor more than twice, without permission from the house, nor any longer than ten minutes at one time.

8. A question shall not be subject to debate until it has been seconded and stated from the Chair, and it shall be reduced to writing at the request of any member.

9. When a question is before the house, no motion shall be in order, except to adjourn, for the previous question, to postpone indefinitely, to postpone for a certain time, to divide, to commit, or to amend; which motions shall severally have precedence in the order herein arranged.

10. A motion to lay on the table shall be put without debate.

11. A motion for a reconsideration shall not be received, unless made in the same session by a delegate who voted in the majority.

12. Any delegate who shall misbehave himself in the meeting, or disturb the harmony or order thereof, either by abusive, disorderly, or profane language, or shall refuse obedience to the presiding officer, shall be admonished of his offence from the Chair, and, if he offend again, he shall be excluded from the room for the session, and afterward dealt with as the Congress may determine.

DELEGATES TO THIRD ANNUAL SESSION.

Amalgamated Society of Engineers, Etc.—W. W. McClelland, 335 West Thirteenth street, New York.

Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America—Gabriel Edmonston, 719 Twelfth street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

Cigar-makers' International Union—Fred Blend, Evansville, Ind.; Hyman Phillips, 54 East Sixth street, Cincinnati, Ohio; Samuel Gompers, 1313 Second Avenue, New York.

German-American Typographia—Jean Weil, 520 East 154th street, New York.

International Typographical Union—E. M. Slack, Times Office, Columbus, Ohio; L. P. McCormack, 142 Davidson street, Indianapolis Ind.; Albert H. Jones, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

Lake Seamen's Union—Richard Powers, 99 West Randolph street, Chicago, Ill.

National Mule Spinners' Association—Robert Howard, Box 203, Fall River, Mass.

Women's National Labor League—Mrs. Charlotte Smith, 721 Twelfth street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

Federation of Labor of the District of Columbia—A. D. Brock, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

Workmen's Assembly of the State of New York—George Blair, 13 York street, New York.
Boston Central Trades and Labor Union—Frank K. Foster, 10 Wendell street, Cambridge, Mass.

Chicago Trade and Labor Assembly—P. H. McLogan, Daily News Composing Room, Chicago, Ill.

Cincinnati Trades and Labor Assembly—M. D. Connolly, 318 Madison street, Covington, Ky.

New York Amalgamated Trades and Labor Union—Kenneth Mackenzie, 17 East Seventh street, New York; alternate, Herman Gutstadt, 551 Clinton street, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Bookbinders' Protective Association of New York—Joseph Ward, 202 Ainsley street, Brooklyn, E. D., N. Y.

Bricklayers' Union, No. 4, of New York—William C. Anderson, 410 West Fifty-sixth street, New York.

Cigar-makers' Union, No. 17, of Cleveland, Ohio—William C. Pollner, 176 Bridge street, Cleveland, Ohio.

Cigar-makers' Union, No. 144, of New York—John H. Fraser, 737 Second Avenue, New York.

Columbia Typographical Union, No. 101, of Washington, D. C.—John H. O'Brien, Star Office, Washington, D. C.

Journeymen Bookbinders' Society of Washington, D. C.—H. S. Linker, 130 East Eleventh street, S. E. Washington, D. C.

Granite-Cutters' Union, No. 2, of New York—John Rogers, 10 Stanton street, New York City.

Typographical Union, No. 61, of Cambridge, Mass.—C. H. Bradlee, Boston Stereotype Foundry, Boston, Mass.

LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE.

Chairman—P. H. McLogan (Chicago Trades Assembly), Daily News composing room, Chicago, Ill.

First Vice-Chairman—Samuel Gompers (International Cigar-makers), 1313 Second Ave., New York City.

Second Vice-Chairman—Gabriel Edmonston (Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners), 719 Twelfth street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

Third Vice-Chairman—M. D. Connolly (Cincinnati Trades and Labor Assembly), 318 Madison street, Covington, Ky.

Fourth Vice-Chairman—Richard Powers (Lake Seamen's Association), 99 West Randolph street, Chicago, Ill.

Fifth Vice-Chairman—W. W. McClelland (Amalgamated Society of Engineers, etc.), 335 West Thirteenth street, New York City.

Sixth Vice-Chairman—Capt. E. M. Slack (International Typographical Union), Times Office, Columbus, O.

Treasurer—Robert Howard (National Mule Spinners), Box 203, Fall River, Mass.

Secretary—Frank K. Foster (Boston Central Trades and Labor Union), 10 Wendell street, Cambridge, Mass.

REPORT. FIRST DAY—Morning Session.

New York City, Aug. 21, 1883.

The Third Annual Session of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada met in Turn Hall, East Fourth street, New York City, at noon on the above date, Samuel Gompers, Chairman of the Legislative Committee, presiding.

On motion of Mr. Mackenzie, the Congress adjourned until 2 P. M., after appointing the Legislative Committee to act as a Committee on Credentials.

Afternoon Session.

At 2 P. M. the Federation reassembled, and Mr. Samuel Gompers addressed the delegates in fitting terms.

The Legislative Committee, acting as a Committee on Credentials, then made the following report:

New York, Aug. 21, 1883.

To the officers and delegates of the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions:

Gentlemen: Your Legislative Committee report the following organizations entitled to representation by the persons named: (See pp. 5 and 6.)

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
R. POWERS,
R. HOWARD,
G. EDMONSTON,
W. H. FOSTER,

Committee.

The report was received, and the delegates named therein declared entitled to seats in the convention.

Mr. Samuel Gompers, of New York, was nominated as President of the Congress, and on motion was elected by acclamation.

On assuming the chair, the President declared the next business to be the election of Vice-President.

Messrs. F. K. Foster and W. C. Pollner were appointed tellers, and A. H. Jones inspector.

Messrs. Richard Powers and J. H. O'Brien were placed in nomination for Vice-President.

Mr. Powers was elected, and on motion of Mr. O'Brien his election was made unanimous.

W. C. Pollner, of Cleveland, was elected Secretary, and Mr. W. H. Foster assistant-Secretary.

Messrs. Connolly and O'Brien were elected Auditors.

Mr. Blend asked the privilege to offer a resolution; on motion of F. K. Foster, permission was given. The resolution reads as follows:

RESOLVED, That the President of this Congress is hereby instructed to go before the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, now in session in New York City, and direct their attention to the prevailing rule now in vogue with the Western Union Telegraph Company, compelling the employees of said company, to be oath-bound to certain conditions before allowed employment, thereby destroying every principle of manhood and freedom of action guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States, and introducing a servile system of labor as degrading in principle as the slavery of old times.

RESOLVED, That the President of this Congress be instructed to advocate the advisability of the adoption of such Laws as will stamp out this nefarious practice, by making it a criminal offence.

The resolutions were adopted as read.

The Chair appointed the following committee on Standing Orders: Gabriel Edmonston, Hyman Phillips, P. H. McLogan, W. B. Anderson, and E. M. Slack.

Mr. O'Brien asked the same privilege (of offering a resolution), and it was granted, after a suspension of the rules.

The Resolution (which recommended the division of dividends, over a certain amount, among employees) was, on motion of Mr. Phillips, referred to the Committee on Standing Orders.

Mrs. Charlotte Smith, of Washington, D. C., president of the Women's National Labor League, was introduced by Mr. Edmonston, with a statement that she was authorized to represent said League, but had not been provided with credentials. On motion, she was admitted to a seat.

On motion of Mr. McLogan the Legislative Committee was allowed time till Wednesday morning to report.

Mr. McClelland moved that the rules of the last session govern the present session. Carried.

Mrs. Smith was invited by the Chair to make a statement in reference to the lady telegraph operators who were blacklisted.

Mrs. Smith briefly explained the situation, concluding by asking that Jay Gould be boycotted.

Mr. Powers called attention to mistatements of Mr. Mitchell, and handed in communications and papers on the subject. Referred to Committee on Standing Orders.

Mr. Blair offered a resolution, setting aside Thursday morning for the discussion of the general principles of the labor movement, and inviting the Senate Committee on Education and Labor to be present.

Discussion ensued, in which Messrs. McLogan, F. K. Foster, Connolly, Blend, O'Brien, Brock, Mackenzie, Edmonston, Anderson, Powers, and Blair participated.

Mr. Brock moved, as a substitute for the resolution, that a committee of ten be appointed to prepare a statement of the labor problem for the attention of the Senate Committee, and that it be offered by this body to that committee, and the chairman of said committee from this Congress be empowered to detail such persons to appear before the Senate Committee, to the number of two daily, as may appear best calculated to accomplish the desires of united labor in the premises.

Mr. O'Brien moved to refer the resolution and substitute to the Committee on Standing Orders. Carried.

Adjourned till 9 A. M. Wednesday.

W. C. POLLNER, Secretary.

SECOND DAY—Morning Session.

The Congress was called to order at 9 A. M. President Gompers in the chair. The roll of officers and delegates was called, and absentees noted. The minutes of Tuesday were read and approved.

The credentials of Herman Gutstadt, as alternate for Kenneth Mackenzie, of the Amalgamated Trades and Labor Union of New York and vicinity, and also the credentials from Granite Cutters' Union No. 2, of John Rogers, were handed it. Both delegates were admitted.

The Legislative Committee then presented the following report:

New York, Aug. 22, 1883.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada:

Gentlemen: Your Legislative Committee report, that since our session in Cleveland very encouraging progress has been made in the formation of local unions, the various national and international unions announcing the institution of numerous new branches, as well as increasing membership in those previously established. Several new organizations of a na-

tional or international character have advanced from a temporary position to a permanent basis. Your committee aided in this work wherever possible, and we confidently expected that some of the unions referred to would participate in this Congress. In most instances, as the Secretary has been informed, the very limited amount of funds at their command is the cause of their absence. The National Union of Journeymen Plasterers has tendered thanks to your committee for efforts which have served to strengthen their organization. We have endeavored to add branches to the National Association of Wood Carvers, and hope to see that body in good and permanent shape when it meets in October next. A convention aiming at the formation of a National Union of shoemakers is to assemble at Rochester, N. Y., during the present week; and all Tailors' Unions are invited to a meeting in Philadelphia on September 15th, with the object of uniting that craft into one body. The Secretary has been in communication with the leading unionists of several cities, looking toward the formation of Trades Assemblies, giving instructions how to proceed, and furnishing sample copies of constitutions. Several of these Assemblies have been successfully established during our term.

Soon after the adjournment of the Cleveland session, the Secretary forwarded to President Arthur the Eight-Hour resolution introduced at our Congress by Mr. Murch, and received an acknowledgment of receipt of the same.

EIGHT-HOUR BILL, ETC.

The Secretary prepared a rough draft of a Bill for the Incorporation of National Trade Unions, which was forwarded to Mr. Edmonston, of your Committee, in Washington, who had the document revised by a constitutional lawyer, after which (January 25th) it was introduced in Congress by Mr. Murch. A somewhat similar Bill, amended from the above, and more general in its operation, has been offered by Senator Blair, of New Hampshire, and that gentleman promises to push it forward at the next session of the United States Congress. Our successors should be directed to urge its passage.

The Bill for the Better Protection of Life and Property on the Lakes is in the same position as when we last met; but Congress did not continue in session a sufficient length of time after our Cleveland meeting to allow much to be done by your committee in favor of the Bill.

As you are doubtless aware, the Bill to Abolish Cigar-making in Tenement Houses has at last been passed into law by the New York Legislature.

The members of your committee, several delegates and ex-delegates of the Federation and friends of the Trades-Union movement in quite a number of States, have been hard at work urging the enactment of measures favorable to our cause. In Ohio the Bill to Abolish Convict Labor Contracts was defeated on account of an amendment by the Senate which the House refused to concur in; but it will be reintroduced at the next session. The same Legislature has passed a fair Lien Law. New Jersey now legalizes Trades-Unions, prohibits infant labor in factories, and requires prison-made goods to be plainly marked or stamped as having been made in such institutions. Pennsylvania has abolished prison-labor contracts, and requires prison-made goods to be plainly

requires prison-made goods to be plainly marked. In Maine, Mr. Robert Howard, of your committee, secured the introduction of a Ten-hour Bill for women and children. The measure was not favored by the committee having it in charge; but it was eventually passed in a modified form, which prohibits the employment in mills of children under twelve years old. In Michigan a large number of Bills, which affect labor interests, have been introduced, the following having been enacted: Compulsory Education of Children; Lien Law; Establishment of a Bureau of Labor Statistics; Protection of Railroad Employees, etc., at Switches and Crossings; Incorporation of Assemblies of K. of L. A Bill is still pending to Encourage Co-operative Associations, and a Ten-hour Bill and Employers' Liability Bill are in the same category. New York has created a Bureau of Labor Statistics; and, although the appropriation is insufficient to carry it on with the best prospective results, it is a degree of satisfaction that it has been established at all. The question of abolishing Convict Contract Labor is also to be submitted to the people in this State.

In Massachusetts the scope of the Ten-hour Law has been extended, by additional enactment, so that its provisions now apply to all industrial establishments. The Bill compelling chartered corporations to pay their employees weekly, and the Employers' Liability Act, have been agitated in the Legislature, and have commanded increased attention from the lawmakers.

You are no doubt informed as to the defeat of Senator Anthony's Bill to Expel Union Printers from the Government Printing-office. In this matter Mr. Edmonston represented us as a sub-committee, as well as on several other occasions when we wished to be heard in Washington.

SALE OF PROCEEDINGS.

We have again to report a loss on the printing of the Proceedings, less than half of the copies printed having been sold. Whether it would be wiser to issue them in future in a cheaper form, without covers, or merely to issue a brief synopsis gratis, is for you to decide.

It was our intention to circulate extensively, during our term of office, tracts and brief pamphlets, with the object of educating the toilers up to Trade Unionism and the aims of the Federation; but up to very recently we were without funds, and are consequently obliged to bequeath this work to our successors.

THANKS DUE TO FRIENDS OF LABOR.

We desire to thank the numerous journals which have expressed themselves as friendly to the Federation; Hon. T. Murch for his efforts in Congress; Hon. Mr. Klotz, of Pennsylvania, for energetic work in behalf of the Bill to Incorporate National Trade Unions; Hon. Lyman A. Brant, for his service to our cause in the Michigan Legislature; Hon. J. B. McCamant, Chief of the Pennsylvania Bureau of Industrial Statistics, for copies of Bills in relation to convict labor; also, many able supporters in every direction who have aided us in our work.

A MISUNDERSTANDING OF OUR POSITION.

At the recent convention in Philadelphia of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers the following resolution was adopted:

RESOLVED, That we do not federate with the organization known as the Federation of

Organized Trades and Labor Unions. Holding, as we do, opposite views on the protective tariff policies of our Government, it could not redound to our benefit to have any such connection."

Your committee deems it proper to state that, while organizations are privileged to join or keep aloof from the Federation, the reason given in the resolution in question for the non-affiliation with us of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers is not well founded. The Federation includes under its jurisdiction men holding the same tariff views as the Amalgamated Association; and the fact that our platform is silent on the question is a guarantee against discord on that subject.

INJUDICIOUS INTERFERENCE.

While the proselytizing of Trades-Unions, referred to at our last session, has somewhat abated, and has not been done so openly as to give us the means of making definite charges against so-called organizers, we are satisfied that over-zealous partisans continue efforts detrimental to that harmony which should exist between labor organizations, and we express our disapprobation of their course.

WORK DONE BY WASHINGTON FEDERATION.

The authority delegated by this Federation to the Federation of the District of Columbia to act in your name has been productive of apparent good; for to that body is due the special duties imposed by Congress on the Senate Committee on Education and Labor. The investigation by the Senate Committee is being impartially conducted; and the results, if any, must be favorable. We hope for good measures at their hands.

RECOMMENDATIONS.

Your committee recommend that our successors be authorized to relieve distress among the workers, by means of organization; and to that end official organizers should be appointed, especially in New England.

We recommend that the Federation offer a prize of \$50 for the best essay on Trades-Unions and Strikes, the incoming Legislative Committee to act as judges and award the prize. We further recommend that said essay be not less than eight nor more than twenty-four pages of the size of our Cleveland Report, and that the same be printed and sold at cost by the Legislative Committee.

We ask the Federation to direct the Legislative Committee to impress upon all unions the importance of attaching beneficial and benevolent features to their organizations.

Hoping our labors will meet with your approval, we respectfully subscribe ourselves,

SAMEUL GOMPERS,
RICHARD POWERS,
ROBERT HOWARD,
G. EDMONSTON,
W. H. FOSTER, Secretary

On motion, the Report of the Legislative Committee was received, and laid upon the table for future discussion.

UNIFICATION OF LABOR.

The Committee on Standing Orders reported as follows:

New York, Aug. 22, 1883.

To the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada:

Your Committee on Standing Orders, to whom was referred a communication from

A. M. Kennedy, President of the Federation of Labor of Washington, D. C., making the following suggestions and resolutions:

WHEREAS, There are many thousands of organized associations of workmen scattered throughout the land, now being grouped together in various forms of centralization—one of which groups, however, having a pre-scriptible right, recognized by the others, to monopolize the absolute control and government of the whole body of laborers, though all professing an earnest desire for the unification of their strength,—common-sense, therefore, and common justice to the men and women enrolled in those societies, indicate clearly that the leaders of said groups should earnestly seek to reconcile their conflicting views, and combine their respective forces around an agreed center, to meet a compact and powerful adversary. Therefore,—

BE IT RESOLVED by the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada, in Convention assembled. That it is absolutely essential to a successful resistance to the combined power of capital that the laboring elements of the whole population should be joined in one United Federation of Labor, based on the broadest principles of justice to all men of good will who contribute to the general welfare of humanity by useful labor.

RESOLVED, Further, That all such international associations may be entitled to representation in the Congress or Federation known as the United Federation of Labor, whose object shall be to provide and put in operation the requisite political machinery to secure by legal enactments, through State and national legislatures, full protection to labor against the encroachments of organized capital, availing itself of such instrumentalities as are tolerated by law and usage.

Your Committee would recommend the adoption of the above preamble and resolutions, as amended, as also the adoption of the following:

RESOLVED, That a committee of three be appointed to confer with the Knights of Labor, and other kindred labor organizations, with a view to a thorough unification and consolidation of the working-people throughout the country.

[Signed by the Committee.]

The Report was received, and, on motion of Mr. Charles Bradlee, it was taken up for discussion; the Convention first resolving itself into a Committee of the Whole, Mr. J. H. Fraser in the chair.

After debate, participated in by Messrs. McLogan, Bradlee, Gompers, Rogers, Gutstadt, Phillips, Anderson, F. K. Foster, Blend, Brock, and O'Brien, the first resolution was adopted.

Mr. Samuel Gompers then offered the following, as a substitute for the second and third resolutions of the report:

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Committee is hereby instructed to enter into immediate correspondence with the proper officers of national and international Labor organizations of all descriptions, for the purpose of obtaining their views upon what basis a more thorough unification of the Labor organizations may be accomplished; and the committee are further instructed to submit these views and

answers to the next session of this Federation.

It was moved and carried that the Committee of the Whole rise, report progress, and ask leave to sit again. President Samuel Gompers resumed the chair, and the Chairman of the Committee of the Whole reported in accordance with instructions. Leave to sit again was granted.

APPEAL TO WORKING-WOMEN.

On motion of Mr. F. K. Foster, it was resolved to appoint a committee of three for the purpose of drafting an appeal to the working-women of the country, urging them to organize. The Chair appointed as such committee Mrs. Charlotte Smith, and Messrs. F. K. Foster and F. Blend.

SENATE COMMITTEE ON LABOR.

The Committee on Standing Orders then submitted the following resolutions; the first presented by Mr. Blair, of New York, and the second by Mr. Block, of Washington:

RESOLVED, That on Thursday, from 9 to 12 o'clock, this Federation of labor, now in National Convention assembled, go into Committee of the Whole to discuss general principles; and the Secretary is directed to invite the United States Senate Committee on Education and Labor, now in session in this city, to be present on such occasion.

RESOLVED, That a committee of ten be appointed to present to the Senate Committee on Education and Labor the wants of this Convention, and detail two members each day to give testimony before the Senate Committee.

The Committee on Standing Orders presented the following as a substitute for the two foregoing resolutions:

That a committee of [] be appointed to present the views of this Congress, when formulated, to the United States Senate Congressional Committee on Education and Labor; and that, pending such action by said committee, such members of the Congress as may desire to present the grievances of their respective trades or occupations to the Senate Committee, in accordance with the invitation of the said committee, be requested to appear before said committee and give testimony.

[Signed by Committee.]

The substitute was adopted.

POLITICAL DEMANDS.

The Committee on Standing Orders then presented the following, submitted to them by Mr. Gabriel Edmonston, of Washington:—

RESOLVED, That a committee be appointed to attend the next National conventions of the two great political parties, and in the name of the organized workmen of the United States demand the incorporation in their platform of principles their position on the enforcement of the eight-hour law, the incorporation of national

trade organizations, and the establishment of a national bureau of labor statistics.

On motion, the discussion of the resolution was made the special order of business for 2 o'clock, P. M.

TREASURER'S REPORT.

On motion, the rules were suspended; and the Treasurer, Mr. Robert Howard, presented the following Financial Report for the preceding year:—

RECEIPTS.	
1882.	
Nov. 28. Balance on hand.....	\$ 35.95
Dec. 12. National Granite Cutters' Union, per capita	60.00
Dec. 24. San Francisco Trades Assembly, per capita, '81.....	16.20
1883.	
Feb. 20. Cleveland Cigar-makers' Union No. 17, representation fee.....	10.00
Apr. 3. Sale of Proceedings (per W. H. Foster)	20.00
June 1. Sale of Proceedings (per Robert Howard).....	4.00
June 22. International Typographical Union, per capita	211.33
July 1. National Spinners' Union, per capita	8.00
July 31. German-American Typographical Union, per capita	6.00
July 31. International Cigar-makers' Union, per capita	129.10
Aug. 7. Lake Seamen's Union, per capita	40.00
Aug. 20. Boston Central Trades and Labor Union, per capita.....	7.00
Aug. 21. Cigar-makers' Union, No. 144 (New York City), rep. fee.....	10.00
Aug. 21. Bookbinders' Protective Union, New York City, rep. fee.....	10.00
Aug. 21. New York State Assembly, rep. fee	10.00
Aug. 21. Typographical Union, No. 61, Cambridge, rep. fee.....	10.00
Aug. 21. Bricklayers' Union, No. 4, rep. fee	10.00
Aug. 21. Granite Cutters' Union, New York City, rep. fee.....	10.00
Aug. 21. Amalgamated Society of Engineers, etc., per capita.....	25.06
Aug. 21. Chicago Trades Assembly, per capita	15.00
Aug. 21. Cincinnati Trades Assembly, per capita	23.55
Aug. 21. Brotherhood Carpenters and Joiners, per capita	12.00
Aug. 21. Columbus (Ohio) Trades Assembly, per capita	10.00
Aug. 21. New York Amalgamated Trade and Labor Union, per capita	5.05
Aug. 21. Woman's Industrial League, Washington, D. C., per capita.....	2.00
Aug. 21. Sale of Proceedings, per W. H. Foster	5.00
Aug. 21. Sale of Proceedings, in Washington	.90
Aug. 21. Washington Bookbinders' Union, rep. fee	10.00
Aug. 21. Washington Federation of Labor Unions	10.00

Total receipts.....\$726.14

*This financial statement has been amended so as to present a summary of receipts and expenditures up to the close of the New York session.—Treas.

EXPENDITURES.

1882.	
Dec. 6. Attorney, for drawing up of bond	\$ 1.00
Dec. 6. Stamps and stationery.....	1.00
Dec. 6. Charles Burgman, labor	6.00
Dec. 30. G. D. Landman, 2 reams of letterheads	11.00
1883.	
Jan. 28. G. D. Landman, 2,000 letter printing	9.00
Jan. 28. W. H. Foster, miscellaneous expenses	17.68
Feb. 1. W. H. Foster, 8 days' labor..	24.00
Apr. 3. G. D. Landman, printing Federation Reports	50.00
Apr. 3. G. D. Landman, printing Reports	20.00
Apr. 3. Cost of order.....	.25
June 12. Cost of expressing Reports and telegram	.65
June 23. G. D. Landman, printing Reports	45.00
June 23. Cost of sending order.....	.25
June 28. Receipt book and box of envelopes	2.15
June 28. G. D. Landman, printing circulars and credentials	7.00
June 28. Cost of order and expresses, Lake Seamen's Union	.35
June 28. Stationery	.30
June 28. Robert Howard, for labor, etc.	5.00
June 28. Samuel Gompers, for loss of time, etc.	13.00
June 28. W. H. Foster, miscellaneous expenses	22.04
June 28. Gabriel Edmonston, loss of time, etc.	15.65
June 28. Rent for Turn Hall.....	20.00
June 28. Valise for Secretary's use...	4.00

June 28. Richard Powers, expenses...\$ 2.00
June 28. W. H. Foster, expenses to convention 75.00 |

Total expenditures to Aug. 24, 1883.....\$352.32

Total income to Aug. 24, 1883..\$726.14
352.32

Balance on hand.....\$373.82

ROBERT HOWARD,

Treasurer of Federation.

The report of the Treasurer was received, audited, and ordered spread upon the minutes.

The following communication was received from the clerk of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor:—

UNITED STATES SENATE.

New York City, Aug. 22, 1883.

Samuel Gompers, Esq.,
President Federation of Trades:—

My Dear Sir:—Will you kindly send me word by bearer, whether your honorable body will send any witnesses here tomorrow, their names, and whether the Senate Committee can rely upon their presence? It is the wish of the committee to hear as many of your representatives as possible.

Very truly yours,

J. KIMBALL, JR., Clerk, Committee.

Messrs. McLogan, Edmonston, McClelland, and Rogers, were deputed as witnesses in compliance with the request contained in the communication.

Noon recess.

SECOND DAY—Afternoon Session.

The Convention was called to order at the regular hour, President Gompers in the chair.

The roll was called, and absentees noted.

The special order of business for two o'clock being the discussion of the resolutions of Mr. Edmonston relative to political action, the resolution was called up.

Mr. Gutstadt offered as a substitute for the proposition to send a committee, that the Legislative Committee be directed to send a letter formulating our demands. Carried.

GOVERNMENT TELEGRAPHY.

Mr. McLogan, of the Committee on Standing Orders, then presented the following, submitted by the Trades Assembly of Chicago:—

WHEREAS, The experience of the people of the United States for the last month has convinced them of the danger to the business interests of the country if corporations are allowed to control the only system answering the demands of the age for transacting business by

quick communication; and, owing to no competition, allowed to charge what they please, and discriminate against whom they please, and

WHEREAS, The organized labor of the country views with alarm the fact that the law of demand for labor is controlled by one corporation in the branch of industry known as telegraphy; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we demand of the American Congress the establishment of a postal-telegraph system, on a self-supporting basis; that the people may transact their business through a rapid system of communication, at an expense founded on actual cost of conducting the system, and not be subject to the delays by strikes, or discriminated against by unscrupulous capitalists.

RESOLVED, That we, as organized workmen, submit this proposition as the only curative for strikes in this branch of industry.

RESOLVED, That our delegate to the Congress of Federated Trade and Labor Unions be and is hereby instructed to submit these resolutions to said Congress, and urge that the Legislative Committee be instructed to put forth all honorable means in their power to have such

a law passed by the Congress of the United States.

RESOLVED, That the Labor Congress urge the organized workmen of the United States to exact pledges from Congressmen in their several districts to not only vote for such a law, but to do all in their power to promote such a measure.

The adoption of the resolutions was favored by Messrs. Connolly, McClelland, Brock, McCormack, and Mrs. Smith, and opposed by Messrs. Fraser and Foster on the ground that it was not a question to be passed upon by trades union organizations.

The yeas and nays were taken upon the adoption of the resolutions, with the following result:—

Yeas.—Blair, Brock, Connolly, Howard, Jones, Linker, McClelland, McCormack, McLogan, O'Brien, Pollner, Powers, Rogers, Slack, Smith (Mrs.), Weil.—16.

Nays.—Anderson, Bradlee, Edmonston, Foster, Fraser, Gompers, Gutstadt, Phillips.—8

Not Voting.—3.

The Convention then resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole, Delegate Fraser in the chair, and discussion ensued upon the substitute previously offered by Mr. Gompers for the Report of the Committee on Standing Orders relative to endeavoring to amalgamate all labor societies.

The substitute was advocated by Messrs. Blend, Gutstadt, Rogers, and Gompers. Mr. McCormack said that something more definite should be done, as the mode proposed by Mr. Gompers would necessitate too long a delay.

Mr. F. K. Foster offered the following as an amendment to the substitute:—

That the Legislative Committee have power to appoint sub-committees in various sections of the country for the purpose of conferring with representatives of other labor organizations, etc.

The amendment was carried by a vote of nineteen to three; and the substitute, as amended, was adopted.

The Committee of the Whole then rose, and the report of the Chairman was adopted.

THANKS TO SENATORS.

Special permission was given Mr. H. S. Linker to introduce a series of resolutions, which, after having been read and amended, were adopted in the following form:—

RESOLVED by the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada, in Congress assembled, That the thanks of this Assembly are due and are hereby tendered to Hon. Daniel W. Voorhees, United States Senator from the State of Indiana, and Omar D. Conger, United States Senator from the State of Michigan, for their very eloquent and manly defense upon the floor of the United States Senate, February 24, 1883, of the rights, privileges, and objects of trades unions.

RESOLVED, That we recognize in Senators Voorhees and Conger true and tried friends in the cause of labor, and as such we recommend them to our fellow-workmen.

In connection with the above resolution, Mr. Brock read letters of Senators Voorhees and Conger, addressed to the printers' and bookbinders' unions of Washington.

Mr. McLogan moved that the first business on Thursday morning, after confirmation of the minutes, be the consideration of the Report of the Legislative Committee, and immediately thereafter the Report of the Committee on Standing Orders. So ordered.

The following invitation was read:—

New York, Aug. 22, 1883.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Third Congress of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada:—

Fellow-Workers:—The Amalgamated Trades and Labor Unions of New York and vicinity, appreciating fully the honor you have conferred upon us in holding your session in the city of New York, and being desirous of manifesting their regard for this honor, hereby tender an invitation to the officers and delegates to attend their Summer-Night's Festival, to be held at the Empire City Coliseum, on Thursday evening, August 23, at 7 o'clock, and also to attend a banquet to be given in your honor at Turner Hall, 66 and 68 East Fourth street, on Friday evening, August 24, at about 8 o'clock.

Very respectfully and fraternally yours,
KENNETH MACKENZIE, President.
H. GUTSTADT, Secretary.

On motion of Mr. Richard Powers, the invitation was accepted with thanks.

Adjourned.

THIRD DAY—Morning Session.

PRINTING PROCEEDINGS.

On the discussion of that part of the report relating to the printing of Proceedings, it was moved by Mr. Gutstadt that 2,000 copies be printed, and sold for five cents per copy.

The motion was amended by Mr. Anderson by striking out the part bearing on the cost, and inserting "and be distributed free."

The amendment was carried, and the original motion as amended adopted.

A motion by Mr. Blair, to appoint a committee of five on ways and means, was agreed to, and Messrs. Blair, Anderson, O'Brien, Gutstadt and Brock, were appointed such committee.

The issuing of tracts and papers, on the labor question, as recommended by the Legislative Committee, was agreed to.

ORGANIZERS.

Mr. Jones moved that organizers be appointed by the Legislative Committee in each State. Agreed to.

PRIZE FOR ESSAY.

That part of the report referring to offering a prize of \$50 for the best essay on labor and strikes was then discussed. Mr. Richard Powers moved to strike out the \$50 and insert \$100.

Mr. Jones moved "That the two best essays be adopted; one to receive one-third, the other two-thirds of the money."

After considerable debate, participated in by Messrs. Pollner, Blend, Gompers, O'Brien, Brock, and Foster, the amendments were defeated, and the original motion then adopted by a vote of eleven to ten.

BENEVOLENT FEATURES.

The recommendation to unions to embody beneficial and benevolent provisions in their constitutions was objected to by Messrs. Connolly and Foster, on the ground that many trade bodies were opposed to making unions insurance societies, and that it should be left to the judgment of individual organizations. Mr. Gompers favored the recommendation, together with Mr. Blend. Mr. Gutstadt said that the Amalgamated Trades and Labor Unions of New York City and vicinity have instructed their delegate to offer a resolution in favor of benevolent features.

The recommendation was adopted. The report as a whole was then adopted as amended.

Noon recess.

The Congress assembled in Turn Hall at the prescribed time, Vice-President Powers in the chair. Roll called and absentees noted, minutes of Wednesday's session read and approved.

The special order being the report of the Legislative Committee, its reading was called for, but, on motion of Mr. Jones, it was postponed for half an hour.

TENEMENT-HOUSE BILL.

The Committee on Standing Orders reported in favor of the following resolution, introduced by Mr. J. H. Fraser:—

WHEREAS, Since the last session of this Labor Congress, the legislators of the State of New York have enacted a law making it a misdemeanor to manufacture cigars in tenement houses in the city of New York, and,

WHEREAS, The employers in this branch of industry have declared a determination to fight to the bitter end the constitutionality of said law, thereby giving another proof to labor of the aggressive power of capital when used in an endeavor to divert and misconstrue the laws enacted for the public interest, and for the purpose of denying labor that recognition to which it is justly entitled, therefore

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Committee be empowered to assist the cigarmakers in their endeavor to have the laws enforced as intended by the legislators of the State.

Adopted.

FACTORY OPERATIVES.

Mr. F. K. Foster offered the following resolution:—

RESOLVED That the Legislative Committee be instructed to devote its special effort, the ensuing year, towards organizing the factory operatives of the country.

Mr. Robert Howard then gave a vivid description of the condition of the mill operatives of New England.

Mr. Gutstadt offered an amendment to the resolution, as follows:

That the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada appeal to the organizations connected with it, and to others in sympathy with its objects, to give whatever financial aid in their power, for the purpose of assisting in the organization of the factory operatives of the country.

Both resolutions were passed.

The Report of the Legislative Committee was then taken up, read, and acted upon.

INCORPORATION BILLS.

In connection with the report, Mr. W. H. Foster read a bill introduced by Mr. Thompson H. Murch in the House of Representatives, and another introduced by Mr. Blair in the Senate of the United States.

THIRD DAY—Afternoon Session.

The Congress was called to order at the regular time, President Gompers in the chair. Roll was called and absentees noted.

ADDRESSES.

Mr. F. K. Foster moved that P. J. McGuire, Secretary of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, who was present, be invited to address the Congress. Carried.

Mr. Gutstadt moved that the floor be also allowed the lady telegraphers present. Carried.

Mr. P. J. McGuire then addressed the Congress briefly, giving an outline of the history of amalgamated trade movements in Great Britain and Europe, the work accomplished by them, and the steady growth of organization among working-people. He closed by prophesying a bright and useful future for the Federated Trades of the United States and Canada.

At the close of his remarks, a representative of the striking lady telegraphers made a few interesting statements, showing the arbitrary course pursued by the Western Union Telegraph Company towards its employees, both before, during, and after the strike.

A vote of thanks was unanimously tendered both speakers; and, on motion of Mr. Blend, the New York delegates were constituted a committee to visit the various Unions of the city to solicit aid for the lady telegraph operators yet out of employment.

PLAN OF ORGANIZATION.

Mr. F. K. Foster moved that a committee of five be appointed on revision of plan of organization. Motion adopted, and Messrs. F. K. Foster, Linker, Weil, Howard, and Blend were appointed such committee.

UNION SEAL.

The following, presented by Mr. Blend, was adopted:—

WHEREAS, The Cigarmakers' International Union of America had adopted a label designated a "Union Label," which is furnished free of charge, in sufficient quantities, to all manufacturers employing union men and women, throughout the United States and Canada, to be pasted on every box containing union-made cigars; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Congress of the Federation of Trades does hereby recommend that all working-men using cigars use all honorable means in their power to promote the objects of said label, by calling for none but union-label cigars, and see that the little blue label is pasted on every box.

RESOLVED, That in order to better promote the objects of this resolution, we respectfully ask all secretaries of labor organizations under any name, to prepare copies of this resolution and post them in their respective meeting places.

BUREAU OF STATISTICS.

Mr. Blair offered the following, which was also adopted:—

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Committee be directed to present to the next Congress a bill creating a Department of Industry and Statistics, which shall receive sufficient appropriation of public funds to enable said department to collect information relating to manufactures and labor, condition of working-people here as compared to other countries, amount of capital invested in manufactures, hands employed, condition of working men and women, and such facts as will tend to bring before the United States Congress each year the true condition of industry in all its departments.

RESOLVED, That the machinery shall be put in operation throughout the various Congressional Districts of the country, by the Legislative Committee, when the bill is presented, by which organized labor can bring its influences to bear upon each member of Congress, by urging the importance of their members voting for the bill in question.

CONVICT CONTRACT LABOR.

Mr. Gompers offered the following, and it was adopted:—

WHEREAS, At the last session of the Legislature of the State of New York the subject-matter of Convict Contract Labor was by law referred to the people, to be voted upon by them at the next election; and

WHEREAS, We regard Convict Contract Labor as antagonistic to free honest labor and the best interests of the people and the State; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Committee are hereby directed to co-operate with the organized workmen of the State of New York, to the end that said law may be adopted by the people, and rid the State of this iniquity

STRIKES.

Mr. Pollner offered the following resolution, and it was adopted:—

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Committee keep an account of all strikes occurring in this country during their term of office, ascertain their causes and consequences, for the benefit of trades and labor unions generally, and report on that at the next session of the Federation.

The Federation concurred in the following, offered by Mr. Phillips:—

RESOLVED, That the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions recommend to international, national, and local unions the necessity of shortening the hours of labor to eight hours per day.

Mr. Richard Powers then read a communication respecting the telegraphers' strike and the cause of its failure.

The three following resolutions, offered by Mr. Gutstadt, were reported favorably upon by the Committee on Standing Orders, and adopted by the Congress:—

RESOLVED, That this Federation of Trades and Labor Unions recommends to the trades and labor unions the necessity of increasing their dues to an extent that will enable them to accumulate a fund sufficient to cope successfully with concentrated capital.

RESOLVED, That this Federation of Trades and Labor Unions recommends to all trades and labor unions to adopt beneficial and benevolent features in their organizations, as a means to make organization more permanent and adhesive.

RESOLVED, That the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions in convention, consider a system by which one trade can assist another in time of trouble, financially as well as morally, an essential to the permanent organization of this Federation.

A resolution was offered by Mr. Edmonston that when we adjourn it shall be to meet in Washington, D. C.

Mr. Blend moved that the choice of place of meeting be made the special business of Friday, at 11 o'clock, A. M. Amendment lost.

Mr. Blend moved, as an amendment, that St. Louis be the place for the next Congress to meet.

Mr. F. K. Foster moved that the whole matter be laid over to 4:45 P. M., and that the selection of place be by ballot. Carried.

The Committee on Revision of Plan of Organization made the following report:—

New York, Aug. 23, 1883.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada:—

Gentlemen:—Your committee appointed to revise the plan of organization beg leave to recommend the following changes:—

[For full detail of changes see Plan of Organization as printed, pp. 3-5. The principal alterations were the enlarging of the Legislative Committee from five to nine, the changing of the per capita tax to a sliding scale, the making of the officers of the Legislative Committee directly elective by the Congress, the changing of the date of meeting to the first Tuesday in October, and several amendments to rules of order, etc.]

F. K. FOSTER,
FRED BLEND,
JEAN WEIL,
ROBERT HOWARD,
H. S. LINKER.

The report was adopted.

PLACE OF MEETING.

The hour having arrived for choosing the next place of meeting, the following nominations were made:—

St. Louis, by Mr. Blend; Chicago, by Mr. McLogan; Cincinnati, by Mr. Connolly; Washington, by Mr. Brock.

The first ballot resulted as follows: Cincinnati, 3; Washington, 8; Chicago, Ill. 11. No choice.

Cincinnati, having the lowest number of votes, was dropped, and, on the second ballot, Chicago was selected by a vote of 12 to 11.

COMMUNICATIONS.

Another communication was received from the Senate Committee, as follows:

United States Senate, Aug. 23, 1883.

Samuel Gompers, President Federation of Trades and Labor Unions:

Dear Sir: The Senate Committee on Education and Labor is desirous of listening to the statements and testimony of the gentlemen composing your body, before their departure from the city; and I will thank you to make known to those residing elsewhere that they will be paid as witnesses in attendance on the committee from tomorrow morning until they have been heard. Those who have been already in attendance upon the committee will be paid as witnesses. I trust that no one will exact from us the trouble of the service of a formal subpoena. I hope also that it can be arranged so that some of the gentlemen may be continually before the committee, so that this evidence may be completed tomorrow and Saturday forenoon. It may, however, be necessary that some witnesses remain over the Sabbath, as we consider the testimony from the representative men all over the country, who form your body, very important.

I am truly yours,

H. W. BLAIR, Chairman.

The following telegram was received from the editor of the Paterson "Labor Standard," and ordered spread upon the record:

Paterson, N. J., Aug. 23, 1883.

Samuel Gompers, President Trades Congress:

Greeting to all your members from New Jersey labor unions. This State, though behind in some respects, will yet do good work for national and international trades amalgamation. God speed your glorious work.

J. P. McDONNELL,

Editor "Labor Standard."

Adjourned.

FOURTH DAY—Morning Session.

The Congress was called to order at the specified time, President Gompers in the chair. Roll called and absentees noted.

Mr. McLogan moved that the election of officers for the ensuing year be made the special order of business for 9:30 A. M. Agreed to.

The following resolution was concurred in:

That the Federation of organized Trade and Labor Unions considers the question of shortening the hours of labor as paramount to all other questions at present, and demands the enforcement of the Eight-hour law on all general and State government work.

LEGISLATIVE TYRANNY.

Mr. Richard Powers called attention to attempts made by parties in Congress (notably by Mr. Townsend, of Cleveland, Ohio) to obtain the passage of a bill making all combinations among seamen punishable as conspiracy and mutiny.

COMPLIMENTARY RESOLUTIONS.

A vote of thanks was tendered the Chairman (Mr. Samuel Gompers) for the able and impartial manner in which he had performed the duties of presiding officer; and also to the Amalgamated Trades and Labor Union of New York City for the courtesies shown the delegates to the Congress.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS.

The hour having arrived for the election of officers, the Chair called for nomination for the office of Secretary.

Mr. Pollner placed in nomination Mr. W. H. Foster. Mr. W. H. Foster declined.

Mr. Weil nominated Mr. F. K. Foster, and on motion that gentleman was elected by acclamation.

For President, Messrs. Gompers, Powers, Edmondston, Blend, Phillips, McCormack, and McLogan were nominated. Messrs. Blend, Phillips, Edmondston, McCormack, and Gompers declined.

The first ballot gave the following result: Edmondston, 1; McCormack, 1; Blend, 2; Powers, 4; McLogan, 5; Gompers, 9.

On the second ballot all but the two candidates receiving the highest number of votes having been dropped, Mr. McLogan was elected by the following vote: Gompers, 10; McLogan, 11.

The Vice-Presidents were elected by acclamation, as follows:

First Vice-President, Samuel Gompers.
Second Vice-President, Gabriel Edmondston.
Third Vice-President, M. D. Connolly.
Fourth Vice-President, Richard Powers.
Fifth Vice-President, W. H. McClelland.
Sixth Vice-President, E. M. Slack.

Mr. Robert Howard was then unanimously re-elected Treasurer of the Federation.

Mr. McCormack submitted the following recognition of the fair treatment of the Congress by the New York Press. Agreed to.

RESOLVED, That the sincere thanks of this Labor Congress be, and the same hereby are, tendered to the daily press of New York City, and its representatives upon this floor, for their accurate and just report of the proceedings of this Labor Congress, and that we shall ever hold them in grateful remembrance.

DISTRIBUTION OF PROCEEDINGS.

Mr. Blair, for the Committee on Ways and Means, made the following report, which was adopted after reconsideration of that part of the proceedings previously enacted bearing on this subject:

That a *pro rata* tax of \$2.50 be levied on each thousand membership of societies here represented, and that they shall receive therefore fifty copies of the Proceedings of the Congress. Extra copies to be charged proportionate rates. GEORGE BLAIR, Chairman.

JNO. H. O'BRIEN.
W. C. ANDERSON.
A. D. BROCK.
H. GUTSTADT.

APPEAL FOR FUNDS.

The following, offered by Mr. Gompers, was adopted:

RESOLVED, That the organizations affiliated with this Federation are requested to transmit the *per capita* tax as prescribed, to the end that the means to promote the work of the organization by the Legislative Committee may not be lacking.

LETTER FROM JOHN JARRETT.

The following letter from the President of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers was then read, and referred to the Legislative Committee, with instructions to answer it in accordance with the resolution passed:

Pittsburg, Aug. 21, 1883.

W. H. Foster, Esq., General Secretary Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada:

Dear Sir: I laid before our National Convention, which was in session in Philadelphia

from August 7th to August 16th, inclusive, the question of a "Federation of Trades," and the propriety of electing delegates to attend the Convention of your organization at New York. I was instructed to inform you that we cannot consistently affiliate ourselves with your "Federation," for the reason that at Cleveland last year your "Federation" passed a series of resolutions condemning tariff, and all laws whereby duties were levied upon imports from other countries. The Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers is heartily in favor of tariff laws, especially on iron and steel and manufacturers thereof. Our Association has labored hard to assure its membership "a fair day's wage for a day's work," and in all mills controlled by the Association in this country we have succeeded in our efforts. We are paid far better than workmen doing the same class of work in other countries. A puddler in Pittsburg gets \$5.50 per ton of 2,240 pounds, while in England for precisely the same work he gets nearly \$2 per ton. The medium that controls this difference is the Tariff; remove it, and we must come in direct competition with English low-paid labor. We are in no hurry for any such a condition of affairs. I have no doubt but that our Association will go hand in hand with the "Federation," directly you withdraw your very severe censure on our tariff laws. In every other essential we are with you, and can fully indorse your platform and declaration of principles; and we certainly wish your present session every success, as we fully recognize the necessity of a more complete organization among the working-men of our country. Hoping much good may result from your deliberations,

Your very truly,
JOHN JARRETT, President.

WOMAN'S INDUSTRIAL LEAGUE.

Mrs. Charlotte Smith, on behalf of the Woman's Industrial League, asked and obtained leave to present the following:

Woman looks to labor organizations as the hope of her future. From them she expects both sympathy and assistance. She knows that laboring men understand better than any one else can the necessities of her position,—the necessity that every person shall have an opportunity to do work which shall be paid for; for there is nothing else that will give true independence. Men work against the crushing power of capital; woman has not only that to contend with, but also the power of prejudice, and added to that the fact that she is not recognized in the scheme of government. What redress has she? We see no hope for her except in concerted and organized action. In order to effect this we frankly ask for the advice, the assistance, and co-operation of labor organizations. Since the beginning woman's work has been an important factor in the world's progress. Her independent paid work has been recognized in this century at least, and the records show what an advance has been made. In 1871, only 1,836,288 women and girls were stated in the census as engaged in gainful occupations. In 1880, 2,647,157 were enumerated. While the female population increased 29.03 per cent, the increase of females employed was over 44 per cent. But in this improvement in her position woman has not yet attained the power of organized action, and it is here that we ask men who know the vast importance of organization to

aid her. In every locality where large numbers of women are at work, they should be assisted to organize and take concerted action against all oppression; and also for the purpose of perfecting themselves in various crafts, so that their work may be more valuable. By doing this, women will not only receive the direct benefit of better wages for their work, but there will be another and even a nobler result: it will attract greater attention to the subject of labor organizations, and bring about a wider recognition of their importance, and thus give these organizations more weight and power. It is not now necessary to discuss the question of woman's ability to perform arduous work. It has been asserted over and over again that woman cannot do the hard work of the world, and she has gone right on working eight, ten, even sixteen hours a day, in the face of these assertions. Has she not thus proved her right to be admitted to your ranks? We wish to call your attention to another fact which has recently been exemplified; that is, that women do stand the test of an emergency. Men associated with women in labor organizations know that when concerted action is necessary to maintain the position of the employed, women will stand by their colors even longer than men will. They have attested their nerve, courage, and energy in trying position; and with these high qualities they can well bear the burden of work, even is they have not mere brute strength.

In conclusion, we would say that we believe that the working-men have more respect for women and for true womanhood than is to be found elsewhere in society. Therefore it is to labor organizations that we as women look for aid to carry forward our best interests in the future.

The committee appointed to draft suitable memorials to the working-women of the country reported, recommending that the Legislative Committee take this matter in hand, as the committee had not sufficient time to do justice to it. On motion, it was so ordered.

On motion, a recess was taken of 10 minutes.

On resuming the business of Congress, the following resolution, pertaining to Lake seamen, was then offered by Mr. Powers, which was adopted.

RESOLVED, That this Convention recommend to the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States the advisability of building a home for seamen who are decrepit, indigent, or superannuated in the service, in some place to be designated hereafter, on the Lakes.

Mr. Gutstadt submitted the following which was adopted.

RESOLVED, That the thanks of the Federation be hereby tendered to the members of the outgoing Legislative Committee for the very able and efficient manner in which they conducted the business of the Federation. This to be spread on the minutes.

On motion of Mr. Pollner, the Congress then adjourned to meet again on the first Tuesday in October, 1884, in city of Chicago, Ill.

Open Letter.

John Jarrett, Esq.:

Dear Sir: I am instructed by the Legislative Committee of the Federation of Trades to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of August 21, and also to correct a slight misunderstanding, entertained by the Association to which you belong, as to the course pursued by the Federation in regard to the tariff. You say, in substance, that if the Federation of Trades had not severely censured the doctrine of high tariff, it is probable that the A. A. O. I. & S. W. would have been represented at our New York session. We certainly should have been highly gratified if our forces had been strengthened by so powerful an auxiliary, and we regret exceedingly the evident misinformation upon which your action was based.

The proceedings of the Cleveland session of the Federation, to which you refer, contain no "censures on tariff." It was the unanimous desire of the delegates composing that convention that the Federation should remain unperturbed upon this vexed question, and protectionists as well as free-traders voted for the motion to place the Congress upon a neutral footing in this matter. It was believed that the tariff was a political issue, and one upon which men equally honest in the labor movement might always differ. It was thought best, therefore, while so large a field for harmonious and united action remained open for trade unionists, that the tariff plank should not be forced upon those who could otherwise subscribe to our platform of principles.

I send you a copy of the Report of our last year's action, and you will find therein no evidence of the assumption you have made, that the convention was a body of free-traders. On the contrary, a large proportion of the delegates were believers in the efficacy of a high tariff. I do not hesitate to acknowledge that, as an individual, I believe in free-trade, but I

should be among the first to oppose any project making our trades-unions agents in furthering that creed. Are we not right in thinking that questions of this nature, upon which there is no possibility of uniting workingmen, should not be used as wedges in keeping them apart?

You and myself, and those we represent, are practically agreed as to the necessity of the work our organizations are formed to accomplish. We think alike as to the ends to be arrived at, and as to the value of our societies as agents in improving the social condition of our class. We realize, also, the magnitude of the labor required, the power of the common foe opposing us, and the necessity for unity of thought and action among all those who espouse our cause. I submit to your own judgment, therefore, that we should studiously avoid all paths that lead to dissension.

The Federation of Trades believes that the concentration of our forces is imperative, if we are in full measure to accomplish the aimed-at industrial and social reforms.

We, therefore,—while recognizing the undoubted right of all organizations to choose their own course,—urge upon our fellow-laborers the importance of amalgamation. We cordially invite the iron and steel workers to stand in line with us, and can safely assure them that nothing in the platform of the Federated Trades can be construed as interfering with their right to take such action as they please, as an individual association, in the matter of the tariff.

Hoping that you will lay this communication before your associates, I am, with the heartiest wishes for the prosperity of yourself and society, fraternally yours,

FRANK K. FOSTER,

Secretary Federated Trades.

Cambridge, Mass., Sept. 17, 1883.

To Working Girls and Women.

The Federation of Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada makes to you the following appeal: We recognize the fact that the well-being of the working people depends in no small degree upon themselves. The law of competition in the industrial world bears with crushing effect upon the weaker elements in society. The benefits to be derived by organization among wage-earners can hardly be overestimated. United action is the lever that will move the huge weight of poverty from many deserving workers. Its value is appreciated by the employing class, and in all departments of commerce and exchange we find system reduced to a science. It is only the ignorant laborer who presumes to undertake great enterprises without proper discipline. The army of industrial organization is fast increasing. Recruits by the thousands and are monthly falling in line. The lesson is rapidly being learned by the *proletariat* that the people must "work out their own salvation." If social evils bear hardly upon working-men, and they are taught by experience that the power of combination can do much to help them; if they find that their labor societies assist them in obtaining better wages, and consequently better homes and better general surroundings,—how much more may we expect from this remedial force when applied by working-women to their own case?

There is to-day, in the most civilized country on the face of the globe, a vast multitude of girls and women condemned to struggle for very existence. They are doubly handicapped by poverty and by sex. Neither sentiment nor humanity counts in the race for gain. The weaker become the prey of the stronger when

the labor market is glutted, and keen competition disposes of the products of labor at the lowest market-price. The toil of our seamstresses, shop-girls, and factory operatives is exploited by hard taskmasters and soulless corporations. Thousands of tragedies are daily enacted, where virtue falls a victim to want, and shame springs from social needs. It is the mission of the labor movement to shield and protect those who cannot defend themselves. It is the creed of the labor movement that labor should be fairly paid for, that the laborer should be more than a passive factor in the contract that disposes of his labor. It is further the creed of the labor movement that equal amounts of work should bring the same price, whether performed by man or woman. In other words, that the value to the purchaser, not the necessity of the seller, should fix the standard of a day's wages.

In the carrying out of this belief there is needed the hearty co-operation of all interested parties. The working-women of the land should array themselves under the banner of united labor. It is the hope of the Federated Trades to assist in bringing about this much-needed result. Those who desire to form labor societies will be supplied with all necessary information, by applying to the Secretary, and will be either furnished with an organizer or directed to the proper source from which to obtain one.

We solicit your correspondence, and pledge you our support. Fraternally,

Legislative Committee Federated Trades.

FRANK K. FOSTER, Secretary.

10 Wendell street, Cambridge, Mass.

Report of the Fourth Annual Session

OF THE

Federation of Organized Trades and Labor
Unions of the United States
and Canada

HELD IN

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

October 7, 8, 9 and 10

1884

Published by Direction of the Federation

FEDERATION
OF
Organized Trades and Labor Unions
OF THE
UNITED STATES AND CANADA.

Declaration of Principles.

PREAMBLE.

WHEREAS, a struggle is going on in the nations of the civilized world between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle, between the capitalist and the laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the toiling millions of all nations if not combined for mutual protection and benefit; and

WHEREAS, the history of the wage workers of all countries is but the history of constant struggle and misery engendered by ignorance and disunion; and

WHEREAS, the history of the non-producers of all ages proves that a minority, thoroughly organized, may work wonders for good or evil:

It therefore behooves the representatives of the workers of North America, in Congress assembled, to adopt such measures and disseminate such principles among the people of our country as will unite them, for all time to come, to secure the recognition of the rights to which they are justly entitled. Conforming to the old adage, "In union there is strength," the formation of a federation embracing every trade and labor organization in North America, a union founded upon a basis as broad as the land we live in, is our greatest hope, for the past history of trades unions proves that small organizations, well conducted, have accomplished great good, yet that their efforts have not been of that lasting character which a thorough unification of all the different branches of industrial workers is bound to secure.

Conforming to the spirit of the times and to the necessities of the industrial classes, we make the following

PLATFORM.

1. The national eight-hour law is one intended to benefit labor and to relieve it partly of its heavy burdens, and the evasion of its true spirit and intent is contrary to the best interests of the nation. We therefore demand the enforcement of said law in the spirit

of its designers, and urge the enactment of eight-hour laws by State legislatures and municipal corporations.

2. We demand the passage of laws in State legislatures and in Congress for the incorporation of trades and labor unions, in order that the property of the laboring classes may have the same protection as the property of other classes.

3. We demand the passage of such legislative enactments as will enforce, by compulsion, the education of children, for if the State has the right to exact certain compliance with its demands, then it is also the duty of the State to educate its people to the proper understanding of such demands.

4. We demand the passage of laws in the several States forbidding the employment of children under the age of fourteen years, in any capacity, under penalty of fine and imprisonment.

5. We demand the enactment of uniform apprentice laws throughout the country; that the apprentice to a mechanical trade may be made to serve a sufficient term of apprenticeship, and be provided by his employer, in his progress to maturity, with proper and sufficient facilities to finish him as a competent workman.

6. It is hereby declared the sense of this Congress that convict or prison contract labor is a species of slavery in its worst form; it pauperizes labor, demoralizes the honest manufacturer, and degrades the very criminal whom it employs; and, as many articles of use and consumption made in our prisons under the contract system come directly and detrimentally in competition with the products of honest labor, we demand that the laws providing for labor under the contract system herein complained of be repealed.

7. What is known as the "order" or "truck" system of payment, instead of lawful currency as value for labor performed, is one not only of gross imposition, but of downright swindle to the honest laborer and mechanic, and we demand its entire abolition. Active measures should be taken to eradicate the evil by the passage of laws imposing fine and imprisonment

upon all individuals, firms, or corporations who continue to practice the same.

8. We demand the passage of such laws as will secure to the mechanic and workingman the first lien upon property, the product of his labor, sufficient in all cases to justify his legal and just claims.

9. We demand the repeal and erasure from the statute books of all acts known as conspiracy laws, as applied to organizations of labor in the regulation of wages.

10. We recognize the wholesome effects of a Bureau of Labor Statistics as created by the National Government and in several States, and recommend for their management the appointment of a proper person, identified with the laboring classes of the country.

11. We demand the law by the United States Congress to prevent the importation of all foreign laborers under contract.

12. We declare that the system of letting out national, State, and municipal work by contract tends to intensify the competition between workmen, and we demand the speedy abolishment of the same.

13. We demand the passage by our various legislative bodies of an employers' liability act, which shall give employees the same right to damages for personal injuries that all other persons have.

14. We recommend all trades and labor organizations to secure proper representation in all law-making bodies, by means of the ballot, and to use all honorable measures by which this result can be accomplished.

SUPPLEMENTARY RESOLUTIONS

1. That we urge upon the legislatures of our several States the passage of laws of license upon stationary engineers, and the enforcement of proper restrictions, which will better preserve and render protection to life and property.

2. That we demand strict laws for the inspection and ventilation of mines, factories, and workshops, and sanitary supervision of all food and dwellings.

3. We demand of our Representatives in the National Legislature that they declare such land grants as are not earned by railroad or other corporations forfeited and to restore the same to the public domain.

ORGANIZATION.

ARTICLE I.—NAME.

This association shall be known as "The Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States of America and Canada," and shall consist of such trades and labor unions as shall, after being duly admitted, conform to its rules and regulations, and pay all contributions required to carry out the objects of this Federation.

ARTICLE II.—OBJECT.

The objects of this Federation shall be:

Section 1. The encouragement and formation of trades and labor unions.

Sec. 2. The encouragement and formation of trades and labor assemblies or councils.

Sec. 3. The encouragement and formation of State and Provincial federations of trades and labor unions.

Sec. 4. The encouragement and formation of national and international trades unions.

Sec. 5. To secure legislation favorable to the interests of the industrial classes.

ARTICLE III.—SESSIONS.

The sessions of the Federation shall be held annually, on the second Tuesday in December, at such place as the delegates have selected at the preceding Congress.

ARTICLE IV.—REPRESENTATION.

Section 1. The Federation shall be composed of representatives of national or international unions, State, district, or local federations of labor, and of local unions not represented through delegates from national unions, State or local federations of labor.

Sec. 2. The basis of representation in the Congress of this Federation shall be: From national or international unions, for 1,000 members or less, one delegate; for 4,000, two delegates; for 8,000, three delegates; for 16,000, four delegates; for 32,000, five delegates; and so on. From State or Provincial federations of trades unions, two delegates. From local trade assemblies or councils, district assemblies of the Knights of Labor, or local trades unions, one delegate. But no local trades unions shall be entitled to representation which has not been organized six months prior to the session of this body.

Sec. 3. No organization which has seceded from any State, national, or international organization shall be allowed a representation or recognition from this Federation.

ARTICLE V.—OFFICERS.

Section 1. On the last day of the annual sessions of the Federation the delegates shall elect a Legislative Committee of nine, consisting of President; First, Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Vice-Presidents, Secretary, and Treasurer.

Sec. 2. In the election of officers the election of Secretary shall take precedence.

Sec. 3. After the organization of the Federation the following committees, consisting of five members each, shall be appointed by the President:

1. Committee on Standing Orders and Laws.
2. Committee on Resolutions.
3. Committee on Finances and Expenditures.
4. Committee on the Report of the Legislative Committee.

ARTICLE VI.—DUTIES OF OFFICERS.

Section 1. The duties of the Legislative Committee shall be to exercise a supervision over the organization and the execution of its laws, and to carry out such instructions as may from time to time be given them at the sessions of this Federation.

Sec. 2. The duties of the Committee on Standing Orders and Laws shall be to exercise a supervision over the revision of all laws, platforms, rules, and standing orders, and be authorized to report such recommendations and amendments as they deem necessary.

Sec. 3. The Committee on Resolutions shall consider all resolutions referred to them by the Federation, and report the same with such amendments or recommendations as they deem advisable.

Sec. 4. The Committee on Finance and Expenditures shall have full supervision over the financial affairs of the Federation, and make such recommendations as to them seem necessary to meet the financial requirements of this body for the ensuing year.

Sec. 5. The Committee on the Report of the Legislative Committee shall consider the report of that committee, and make such recommendations regarding the same as they may deem expedient.

ARTICLE VII.—REVENUE.

Section 1. The revenue of this Federation shall be derived from each national or international trade or labor union and each trades assembly or council or district assembly of the Knights of Labor affiliated with this Federation, and shall be assessed upon the following basis: For 1,000 members or less, \$10 per annum; 1,000 to 4,000, \$20 per annum; for a number exceeding one thousand, one cent per member per annum. Local or State trades assemblies or assemblies of Knights of Labor whose membership exceeds 1,000 shall be required to pay one cent per member, but in no case shall said tax exceed \$25.

Sec. 2. Delegates shall not be entitled to a seat in this Federation unless the per capita tax is paid in full.

ARTICLE VIII.—ACCOUNTS.

Section 1. The accounts of the year shall be closed fourteen days prior to the assembling of the Congress, and a balance sheet duly certified and presented to the same.

Sec. 2. The remuneration for loss of time by the Legislative Committee shall be at the rate of \$3 per diem; traveling and incidental expenses to be also defrayed.

ARTICLE IX.—STRIKE BENEFITS.

[This article is to be ratified by all organizations represented in the Federation, and if approved by a two-third vote of the actual membership of this Federation, then it becomes a law; otherwise it is to remain void and inoperative.]

Section 1. It shall be one of the cardinal principles of this Federation to secure the unification of all organizations under its jurisdiction upon one common financial basis, to assist its members in the event of a strike or lockout, if properly approved by the respective organizations to which they may be attached.

Sec. 2. The Legislative Committee of this Federation are hereby constituted the legal authority to approve and manage all strikes and lockouts and to co-operate with the local organizations in the event of any such difficulty, and shall be empowered to levy assessments upon the different organizations under the jurisdiction of the Federation, enforce its collections under penalty of suspension after reasonable time has been granted for payment of the same, and have power to distribute the same as provided for by this article.

Sec. 3. In the event of a strike or lockout in any organization under the jurisdiction of this Federation, the Legislative Committee shall be empowered to lay an assessment not to exceed two (2) cents, weekly, upon members under the jurisdiction of this Federation.

Sec. 4. The Legislative Committee of this Federation shall not take into consideration or approve of any application for strike benefits unless the strike or lockout shall have been approved of by their district, State, national or international organization, and shall have been in progress for at least sixty days at the date of such approval.

Sec. 5. The Legislative Committee of this Federation shall be required to make an equal

distribution of all assessments collected, and shall be empowered to demand a report when they deem proper, and enforce such other regulations for the management of strikes or lockouts as in their judgment they may deem advisable.

Sec. 6. The benefits to members on strikes or lockout shall in no case exceed the sum of \$3 per week.

RULES

1. At the appointed time the chairman shall call the Congress to order.

2. During the hours of meeting no delegate will be allowed to leave the room, unless on special business.

3. Every delegate, when he rises to speak, shall respectfully address the chair. While speaking, he shall confine himself to the question.

4. Should two or more rise to speak at the same time, the chair shall decide who is entitled to the floor.

5. No delegate shall interrupt another in his remarks, unless to call him to order for words spoken or for the purpose of explanation.

6. If a delegate, while speaking, be called to order, he shall, at the request of the chair, take his seat until the question of order is determined, when, if permitted, he may proceed again.

7. A delegate shall not speak more than once on the same subject or question until all who wish to speak shall have had an opportunity to do so, nor more than twice without permission from the house, nor any longer than ten minutes at one time.

8. A question shall not be subject to debate until it has been seconded and stated from the chair, and it shall be reduced to writing at the request of any member.

9. When a question is before the house, no motion shall be in order except to adjourn, for the previous question, to postpone indefinitely, to postpone for a certain time, to divide, to commit, or to amend, which motions shall severally have precedence in the order herein arranged.

10. A motion to lay on the table shall be put without debate.

11. A motion for a reconsideration shall not be received, unless made in the same session by a delegate who voted in the majority.

12. Any delegate who shall misbehave himself in the meeting, or disturb the harmony or order thereof, either by abusive, disorderly, or profane language, or shall refuse obedience to the presiding officer, shall be admonished of his offense from the chair, and if he offend again, he shall be excluded from the room for the session, and afterward dealt with as the Congress may determine.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

1. Roll call of officers and delegates.
2. Reading minutes of previous session.
3. Report of Committee on Credentials.
4. Reports of officers.
5. Reports of regular committees.
6. Reports of special committees.
7. Unfinished business.
8. New business.
9. Good of the Federation.

STANDING ORDERS

1. The annual meeting of this Federation shall be held on the second Tuesday in Decem-

ber, at such place as the delegates to preceding Congress may have selected.

2. The time of the meeting shall be as follows: On the first day, to assemble at noon; on all other days at 10 A. M., adjourn at 12:30; reassemble at 1:30, and adjourn at 5 P. M. each day.

3. At the opening of the Congress the chairman of the Legislative Committee shall take the chair until the Congress has elected its own President, which shall be its first business. The Congress shall then elect a Vice-President, two Secretaries, two Auditors, a Doorkeeper, and Messenger.

4. A Standing Orders Committee shall then be elected, to whom shall be remitted the whole business of the Congress, the discussions, together with the whole financial arrangement of the Congress.

5. The Congress having been formally opened by the President, the Legislative Committee shall present their report for the past year, which shall be read by the Secretary, and shall be laid on the table for discussion by the Congress; said report shall contain a list of the committee meetings, with dates and names of those present.

6. The reader of a paper shall be allowed twenty minutes; the mover of a resolution, fifteen minutes; succeeding speakers, ten minutes each. No one to speak more than twice on any one subject.

7. No second amendment to an original proposition shall be put to vote until the amendment is disposed of.

8. No papers shall be read except those which are required for legislative purposes; no member to read more than one paper.

9. All papers shall be sent to the Secretary of the Legislative Committee at least two weeks before the meeting of the ensuing Congress, the same to be read and arranged by the committee, in order to facilitate the business of the Congress.

10. Should a vacancy occur in the office of Secretary or Treasurer between the annual meetings of the Congress, the Legislative Committee shall have the power to fill the vacancy from their own number.

11. The duties of the Legislative Committee shall be to watch legislative measures directly affecting the question of labor, to initiate, whenever necessary, such legislative action as the Congress may direct, or as the exigencies of the time and circumstances may demand.

12. No candidate shall be elected on the Legislative Committee unless he is a delegate from his own trade society, or represents a trades council; and the body so represented must have contributed its capitation tax during the year previous to his nomination.

13. All surplus moneys, after the payment of the expenses of the Congress, shall be handed over to the Treasurer of the Legislative Committee, for the general purpose of such committee.

14. The Legislative Committee shall assist and co-operate with the local committee of the city where the next Congress is to be held, for the purpose of making the arrangements as complete as possible, and preparing the questions

to be discussed, and together to take such joint action as the business or other special circumstances of the time may render necessary or desirable.

15. A subcommittee of the Legislative Committee, consisting of the Secretary and Treasurer, shall meet two days before the meeting of each Congress, to arrange matters for the Congress.

16. The chairman and secretary of the Legislative Committee shall be members of the succeeding Congress from which they have been credited, but without a vote.

DELEGATES TO THE FOURTH ANNUAL SESSION

Amalgamated Society of Engineers, etc.—W. W. McClelland, 335 West Thirteenth street, New York.

Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America—Gabriel Edmonston, 719 Twelfth street, N. W., Washington, D. C.; T. P. Doran, 105 Sigel street, Chicago, Ill.

Chicago Trades and Labor Assembly—A. C. Cameron, 259, Park avenue, Chicago, Ill.

Chicago Typographical Union No. 16—Henry Askew, "Herald" Office, Chicago, Ill.

Cigar-Makers' International Union—Fred. Blend, Evansville, Ind.; Harry Otten, 42 Catherine street, Albany, N. Y.; C. W. Rowan, 125 S. Clarke, Room 29, Chicago, Ill.

Cigar-Makers' No. 14—Aug. Stirmel, Chicago, Ill.

Cigar-Makers' No. 54—Emil Levy, 933 East Michigan street, Evansville, Ind.

Cincinnati Trades and Labor Assembly—M. D. Connolly, 318 Madison street, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Columbia Typographical Union No. 101—William R. Ramsey, 820 First street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

Federation of Labor of Washington, D. C.—Edward W. Oyster, 943 Q street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

Granite-Cutters' National Union—James O'Sullivan, Thirty-fourth street and Ridge avenue, Philadelphia, Penn.

Illinois State Federation—J. P. McGinley, 363 Sedwick street, Chicago, Ill.

International Furniture Workers—Ernst Iowa, 144 Peoria street, Chicago, Ill.

International Seamen's Union—R. Powers, 99 West Randolph street, Chicago, Ill.; Joseph Bernard, 187 East Water street, Milwaukee, Wis.

International Typographical Union—W. J. Hammond, "City Item" Office, 39 Natchez street, New Orleans, La.; John F. Hogan, "Union" Office, Brooklyn, N. Y.; August Donath, 1405 Fifth street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

Journeymen Tailors' National Union—James W. Smith, 947 College street, Springfield, Ill.

Queen City Assembly No. 280, Knights of Labor—William B. Ogden, 65 West Fourth street, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Trades and Labor Assembly of Minneapolis, Minn.—N. P. Finnegan, Minneapolis, Minn.

Typographical Union No. 3—Joseph B. Waterhouse, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Fourth Annual Session of the Federation

OF

Organized Trades and Labor Unions

OF THE

UNITED STATES AND CANADA

1884

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS. FIRST DAY—Morning Session

Schloesser's Hall,
Chicago, October, 7, 1884.

The Fourth Annual Session of The Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada met at noon on the above date; P. H. McLogan, chairman of Legislative Committee, presiding.

Mr. Julius Grinnel, in behalf of the city of Chicago, and Mark L. Crawford, President, in behalf of the Chicago Trades and Labor Assembly, extended a cordial and hearty welcome to the delegates to the Federation.

On motion, the Legislative Committee were appointed to act as Committee on Credentials, and adjourned until 3 o'clock P. M.

Afternoon Session.

At 3 o'clock P. M. the Federation was called to order by the chairman, P. H. McLogan.

The Legislative Committee, acting as Committee on Credentials, reported the following organizations as entitled to representation by the following-named persons.

(See list of Delegates, page 6.)

Signed,

P. H. McLOGAN, R. POWERS,
G. EDMONSTON, W. W. McCLELLAND,
M. D. CONNOLLY, ROBT. HOWARD.

The report of the committee was received.

The credentials of Jacob Selig, delegate from the Cigar-Makers' Progressive Union, of Chicago, were objected to, and, on motion, referred back to the committee.

On motion, the Federation went into an election of officers to serve during the session, with the following result:

W. J. HAMMOND—President.

R. POWERS—Vice-President.

M. D. CONNOLLY, EMIL LEVY—Secretaries.

FRED. COOK—Doorkeeper.

JOS. B. WATERHOUSE, JAMES W. SMITH—Auditors.

The representatives from the Cigar-Makers' International Union offered the following:

To the Officers and Delegates of the Federation of Trades and Labor Union of the United States and Canada:

"Gentlemen: We desire to bring to your especial notice the following resolution adopted at the last meeting of the Federation, held at New York city, and published on page 16 of the last proceedings, which reads as follows, to-wit:

"RESOLVED, That the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions, in convention, consider a system by which one trade can assist another in time of trouble, financially as well as morally, as essential to the permanent organization of this Federation."

The Cigar-Makers' International Union of America, in convention assembled at Toronto, Ontario, in September, 1883, approved of this resolution by the following proceedings:

"Representatives Blend and Gompers presented a supplementary report as delegates to the Congress of the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions, and presented the following resolution:

"WHEREAS, the Congress of the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions at its last session, held in New York city, in August, 1883, for the better unification of the various trades and Labor organizations agitate the advisability of making the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions protective in its mission, in the event of strikes and lock-outs, or any other emergency affecting the best interests of the laboring masses; and

"WHEREAS, your representatives to said Congress were favorable to said unification, but without authority to pledge our organization; therefore be it

"RESOLVED, That the next representative to the Congress of the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions are hereby authorized to pledge our International Union to any amount not to exceed ten (10) per cent. of the income of our organization."

Representative Otten offered the following amendment:

"That this resolution shall take effect only when the other associations affiliated to the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions shall have adopted the same course."

Representatives Hagan and Jones moved to lay the whole subject on the table until after the Committee on Constitution has rendered their report, which was adopted.

The convention then proceeded to the consideration of the resolution offered by Messrs. Blend and Gompers in reference to the unification of trades.

Representative Kirchner moved to strike out 10 per cent. and insert 2 per cent., which was agreed to.

Representative Otten moved that this resolution shall not take effect until all other trades have taken the same action.

Representative Dornell moved to amend the amendment by striking out "all" and inserting "majority," which was lost, and the amendment of Representative Otten agreed to.

The resolution was then agreed to as amended.

Your representatives to the Federation of Federation of Trades and Labor Unions from the Cigar-Makers' International Union of America would respectfully recommend that this Federation would instruct its Legislative Committee to report to this session resolutions or laws embodying the provisions or principles of the above resolution so formulated to conform to the best interests of the various trades and labor organizations under the jurisdiction of this Federation.

Respectfully submitted,

FRED BLEND,

C. W. ROWAN,

HARRY OTTEN,

Delegates C. M. I. U. of A.

EMIL LEVY, Delegate from C. M. U., No. 54.

The communication was read by the Secretary and subsequently referred to the Committee on Standing Orders.

Mr. Hogan, of Brooklyn, N. Y., offered the following:

WHEREAS, the workingmen of the United States have been repeatedly humbugged and swindled by so-called platforms of political parties, professing interest in our welfare at every ensuing election; and

WHEREAS, The most conspicuous outrage of the present generation has been perpetrated on us by the New York Tribune, professing to be our friend and the advocate *par excellence* of protection to American mechanics, while at the same time practically employing what might be termed imported scab labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That Whitelaw Reid and all connected with the publication of the New York Tribune be, and are hereby, denounced as enemies to the fundamental principles of the Constitution of the United States and our form of government—protection to labor.

RESOLVED, That we earnestly recommend the wage workers of this free Republic to

regard and treat the said Whitelaw Reid and his newspaper, the New York Tribune, as an enemy of the working classes.

RESOLVED, That we continue to boycott and denounce the said Reid and the said Tribune while the name of independent American mechanic is known in the land.

The resolutions were fully and freely discussed by Messrs. Hogan, Donath, Powers, and Otten, after which they were unanimously adopted.

On motion of Richard Powers, a committee on Standing Orders, consisting of five delegates, were elected, as follows: Fred Blend, Jas. O'Sullivan, August Donath, W. W. McClelland, and J. P. McGinley.

Mr. McClelland offered a motion to print the proceedings daily for the use of the delegates.

Referred to Legislative Committee.

Credentials were presented from the Illinois State Federation, but as no provision had been made to pay the whole of the per-capita tax, all except one were withdrawn.

Gabriel Edmonston, of Washington, D. C., submitted a resolution fixing May 1, 1886, as the time for a simultaneous establishment of eight hours as a legal day's labor for all trades represented in the Federation.

Mr. Edmonston stated that this proposition was laid before the Carpenters through their official journal, and their delegates were instructed to present it to this Congress for their consideration. He also said that it was not his purpose to press the resolution for its final passage by this Congress, but to allow it to be discussed by the delegates, and at the proper time to move to refer the matter to the next Congress for adoption.

The resolution was referred to the Committee on Standing Orders.

Adjourned to meet Wednesday, at 9 o'clock A. M.

SECOND DAY—Morning Session.

The Federation was called to order at 9 o'clock A. M. by the President, W. J. Hammond.

The Committee on Standing Orders reported the Rules and Order of Business, which was adopted.

(See Rules and Order of Business, page 5.)

The roll of officers and delegates was called and absentees noted.

The minutes of Tuesday were read, and, after correction, adopted.

The special committee appointed by the Third Annual Congress to collect funds to assist the female telegraph operators victimized

during the strike against the Western Union Telegraph Company reported as follows:

Amount collected\$167.59
Amount disbursed 161.70

Balance\$ 5.89

Signed,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,

Chairman.

JOHN H. FRASER,

Secretary of Committee.

W. W. McCLELLAND,

Treasurer of Committee.

The report was approved and ordered to be placed on file.

The Legislative Committee, acting as Committee on Credentials, reported on the credentials of Jacob Selig, from the Progressive Cigar

Makers' Union, recommending that he be not admitted as a delegate; that the per-capita tax be returned to him, and that the future Legislative Committee be instructed to use their best efforts to adjust the unhappy difficulties between the contending bodies.

Report of committee was received and adopted.

A telegraphic communication was received from the New Jersey Eight-hour League, urging action on the eight-hour question.

On motion, the Treasurer was ordered to send a suitable and favorably reply.

On the recommendation of the Legislative Committee, a committee of five were appointed to take charge of the prize essay and to award the prize.

The committee were as follows: A. C. Cameron, J. W. Smith, E. W. Oyster, Harry Otten, and Jos. Bernard.

On motion, a recess of ten minutes was taken.

At the expiration of the appointed time the Federation reassembled.

The Legislative Committee reported, recommending the adoption of the resolution offered by W. W. McClelland to print a daily report of the proceedings.

Adopted.

Robert Howard made a verbal report of the work done by himself and F. K. Foster in organizing the mill operatives of New England, as instructed by Third Annual Session of the Federation.

The primary intention, he said, was to extend the legislative enactments of Massachusetts, which embodied the ten-hour and kindred laws, to Rhode Island, and eventually throughout New England.

In Rhode Island, mill operatives, including children from five to eight years old, worked from 64 to 74 hours per week, and received less pay than in the State of Massachusetts, where the ten-hour rule was adhered to, and where children under ten years were not allowed to work in factories; while those between the ages of ten and fourteen years were compelled to attend school twenty weeks in a year.

The speaker stated that they enlisted the enthusiastic support of Hugh J. Carroll, State representative, Governor Vaughn, and ex-Governor Howard, of Rhode Island.

After a hard struggle a ten-hour bill was introduced in the legislature of that State, which was however finally defeated.

The report concluded with the statement that of the \$100 appropriated by the Federation, \$81 had been expended, leaving a balance of \$19.

Mr. O'Sullivan corroborated the statements of Mr. Howard in regard to the mill operatives of Rhode Island.

A vote of thanks was tendered to Messrs. Howard and Foster for their efficient services. Also to Hugh J. Carroll, member of Rhode Island State Legislature, for his efforts in behalf of the oppressed mill operatives.

The Secretary, for the Legislative Committee, submitted the following report, which was read:

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY.

Haverhill, October 2, 1884.

Gentlemen: I am prevented, by unavoidable and unforeseen circumstances, from the contemplated pleasure of being with you in person. I deeply regret my misfortune. I ask your charity for the report which I have the honor to send you. In laying down my position as Secretary of the Federation, I do so with an appreciation of the responsibility and honor of the office, greatly heightened by the experience of the year past. I am highly sensible that my omissions may be found many, but they are not the result of willful inattention.

I have the honor to submit the following report:

To the Officers and Members of the Fourth Annual Congress of the Federated Trades:

Gentlemen: In presenting my report as Secretary for the year past I am conscious that its chief interest will consist of the future possibilities it suggests rather than in its record of objects attained. The lack of funds has seriously crippled the work of the Federation, and this, coupled with an organization lacking cohesiveness, has allowed small scope for effective expenditure of effort. My experience and observation has convinced me, however, that in a Federation of Trades lies the key to the solution of the labor problem, and I believe this present Congress can initiate such a movement as will be productive of incalculable good to the working people not only of America but of the civilized world.

ORGANIZATION.

It is well, in the first place, for us to recognize the fact that the labor movement in this country is largely in a tentative stage. No well-defined, scientific and systematic basis of organization prevails. Each trade is groping blindly after results, with more or less defective machinery and imperfect perception of methods and issues. With a few notable exceptions, our labor societies have yet to withstand a period of storm and stress. Low dues, partial organization and neglect of business principles have hitherto proven insuperable obstacles to the full measure of success.

From past failure evolves present betterment and future perfection. No observant eye can fail to see that the spirit of organization is abroad in our land. The feeling of unrest among those who work with their hands is crystallizing into a desire for action. Sisyphus is weary of forever rolling the stone of toil up the Hill of Difficulty, and is looking about him for a machine to take his place. Independence is supplanting submission in things material as well as mental.

The mob comes before the army, the impulsive strike comes before the deliberative

Congress; the State street massacre and Concord bridge ushered in the Declaration of Independence. Thus it is that the forces of organization have been stimulated by the necessities of labor.

The nominal triumph of Jay Gould over the telegraphic brotherhood; the defeat of the Fall River operatives after months of gallant struggle against heavy odds; the bitter contest yet raging in the Hocking valley—these, and many other repulses sustained by organized labor, are arguments not against the principle of organization and the spirit of resistance to oppression, but for the more perfect unity of wage workers into a league whose discipline and power will win victory.

The past twelve months have been memorable for the progress made in organization. Unions, local, national, and international, have been formed, and the membership of existing societies largely augmented. Trades assemblies and short-hour leagues have sprung into being from the necessities of the time, and all signs give evidence that the hour is approaching when a general advance may be made all along the line.

Your Legislative Committee have assisted in the way of organization, wherever practicable, but are conscious that much yet remains to be done, and would recommend that the present Congress appoint

STATE ORGANIZERS.

whose commission, issued by the Federation, would be an official guaranty of their authority to speak for and represent the central organization of trades unions. Members of the Legislative Committee could be constituted State Organizers in their respective localities, and members of the national or international unions represented in this Federation could receive the appointment for States not directly sending delegates to the Congress.

STRIKES.

While conscious of the fact that the strike is an industrial war, whose precipitation is to be avoided if possible, and whose consequences are often lamentable, we are yet convinced that this war is sometimes a necessity, as affording the only alternative against outrageous injustice and intolerable oppression.

We, therefore, do not hold with those theorists who would ignore present social conditions, and who strive to direct the labor movement in pursuit of some will-o'-the-wisp millennium, grounded neither upon the capabilities of human nature nor the dictates of common sense. We must walk before we can fly, and we believe the gaining of higher wages and shorter hours to be the preliminary steps toward great and accompanying improvements in the condition of the working classes. We contend that the strike, when based on justice, conducted with discretion, and used as a last resort, is a perfectly legitimate weapon, whose force is moral as well as physical, and whose results are often more beneficial than its apparent ending would indicate. We, therefore, urge our constituencies to so shape their policy that in times of trouble they may act upon the advice of Polonius to Laertes:

"Beware

Of entrance to a quarrel; but, being in, Bear it, that the opposer may beware of thee."

In accordance with a resolution passed at the last Congress your Secretary attempted, commencing with the first of last November, to

keep a record of the more considerable strikes taking place in the jurisdiction of the Federation. After four months had passed, receiving little co-operation from those to whom he had written for assistance, and conscious that the meager accounts of labor troubles transmitted by the Associated Press were of little value and would furnish but insufficient data, he thought it best to discontinue the enterprise until more effective machinery could be supplied by the Federation.

The result of my labor for the four months, roughly estimated, would be as follows:

Whole number of strikes recorded.....	98
Number of employes implicated.....	53,000
Strikes against a reduction.....	5
Strikes for an increase.....	50
Strikes to establish a scale.....	7
Strikes against non-union men.....	3
Strikes for less hours.....	5
Strikes for back wages.....	3
Strikes against signing contracts.....	2
Strikes against shop exactions.....	3
Cause not given.....	22

Of the trades among which the strikes took place the proportion of strikes was as follows:

Miners	9
Printers	6
Metal Workers	17
Leather Workers	15
Building Trades	9
Railroad Employes	4
Textile Operatives	10
Laborers	4
Miscellaneous	24

Of the results:

Successful	13
Failures	15
Compromised	5
Not recorded	65

I recommend that during the next year printed blanks be furnished the officers of the Federation, and that a system of statistical reports relative to strikes be gathered in this manner, to be tabulated by the secretary, thus forming a valuable record for future reference.

THE EIGHT-HOUR QUESTION.

This subject is one deserving the full and careful attention of the Congress. No more important remedial measure is contained in the demands of the labor-reform movement, important not only because of the direct benefit it would give to the working class through relieving the labor market, affording the individual time for rest, recreation and study, but also from the great indirect good sure to accompany the material, mental, and moral opportunities resulting from the lessening of the hours of toil.

In accordance with a resolution passed at the last Congress, the Secretary of the Legislative Committee addressed a letter to the chairman of the National Committee of both Republican and Democratic parties requesting them to define the position of their respective organizations upon the enforcement of the eight-hour law and other labor measures.

From Chairman Sabin no reply was received. From Chairman Barnum came the following reply:

Lime Rock, Conn., March 11, 1884.

My Dear Sir: Your favor of February 29 has been received, and contents duly noted. An answer will have to be deferred until a meeting of the full committee, as no expres-

sion from them on the several questions propounded has ever been had.

Trusting this will not inconvenience you, I am,

Very truly yours,

W. H. BARNUM, Chairman.
FRANK K. FOSTER, Esq., Secretary,
10 Wendell street, Cambridge, Mass.

No further communication has reached me, but a subcommittee of your Legislative Committee appeared in person before the Committee on Resolutions of both the National Conventions, and their reports will be given elsewhere.

It appears to be the generally expressed desire of the societies represented in this Federation that it assume the initiative in a national movement for the reduction of the hours of labor. Sporadic attempts of individual trades in certain localities have met with varying degrees of success, but there is little doubt that a universal, centrally directed advance would prove both practical and triumphant. To formulate the machinery for this attempt requires your deepest thought. This much has been determined by the history of the national eight-hour law—it is useless to wait for legislation in this matter. In the world of economic reform the working classes must depend upon themselves for the enforcement of measures as well as for their conception. A united demand for a shorter working day, backed by thorough organization, will prove vastly more effective than the enactment of a thousand laws depending for enforcement upon the pleasure of aspiring politicians of sycophantic department officials.

I recommend that all possible means be used to arouse public opinion upon this question, and that a vote be taken in all labor organizations, prior to the next Congress, as to the feasibility of a universal strike for a working day of 8 (or 9) hours, to take effect not later than May 1, 1886. There can be no doubt but that the question of the reduction of the hours of labor is one of the most practical that will attract your attention and it should receive the notice it merits.

LEGISLATIVE MEASURES.

The Federation may be made a power in obtaining labor legislation. The increased prominence given to labor issues by political parties of all complexion affords a golden opportunity for labor organizations to present the claims of the reforms they advocate. Much has been done during the past year through the agency of your Legislative Committee, but yet more effective and systematic work should result from future efforts.

The action of the National House, in appointing a special committee on labor, afforded a chance to urge several important laws, and while the outcome of the session was not such as to meet the expectations of labor reformers, a step has certainly been taken in advance. The Federation was represented before both the House and Senate committees in favor of the National Bureau of Labor Statistics, the national eight-hour law, the employers' liability act of Senator George, and the Foran bill, prohibitory of the importation of foreign labor under contract. Special attention should be given to the three latter measures. The Legislative Committee are under obligations to Senators Blair and George and Congressmen Hopkins, O'Neill, Foran, Ferrell, and Lovering for favors extended to them.

While National legislation should not be overlooked, it is, nevertheless, a fact that the State legislatures form the most favorable point of attack and most of the legislative reforms we advocate must be obtained through this medium. Your Secretary has appeared before the legislature of Massachusetts, and urged the passage of bills abolishing prison contract labor, creating a system of weekly payments for corporations, creating an employers' liability act, abolishing the poll tax, and other minor measures. Mr. Robert Howard has done effective work in Maine and Rhode Island toward a ten-hour law, and in New York reforms have been effected in the matters of prison labor, employment of children, and tenement-house cigar making. New Jersey has made striking advances in the better protection of children, in the collecting of statistics, and in the guarding of life and limbs of working people. Labor legislation in Maryland received an impetus through the message of Governor McLane, but the work done has been chiefly preliminary. In Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana, more stringent laws are needed for the protection of the miners, and the labor organizations are fully alive to the importance of the issue. Michigan is in the front rank of the movement in this direction, and good results may be looked for from the agitation now carried on in that State, while in Illinois, Kentucky, Iowa, Missouri, and on the Pacific coast labor laws are being passed. If possible, some special committee should be had in each State, whose duty it should be to formulate and advocate such laws as are deemed practicable to present.

THE PRIZE ESSAY.

Although the fact that the Federation offered a prize of \$50 for the best essay on trades unions and strikes was widely advertised, but scanty response was made to the invitation to compete, and but four essays are now in the hands of your committee.

The essays now in hand, in the order of their reception, are:

1. By John Doyle, 1222 North Tenth street, Philadelphia.
 2. By Gabriel Edmonston, Washington.
 3. By Herman Gutstadt, Brooklyn.
 4. By Henry M. Thayer, Troy, N. Y.
- Your committee would recommend that a special committee be appointed to examine and report on the essays.

ORGANIZATIONS OF FACTORY OPERATIVES.

In pursuance with a resolution adopted by the last Congress, considerable effort has been directed during the past year toward the organization of factory operatives. The following meetings have been gotten up directly under the auspices of the Federation, and many other assemblies have been addressed by Treasurer Howard and myself. Central Falls, R. I., November 20, 1883; Woonsocket, R. I., February 12, 1884, weavers; Falls River, February 21, gingham weavers; Fall River, April 10; Woonsocket, R. I. The limited appropriations made (\$100) has precluded extensive work, if possible, it is to be hoped that the Federation will continue its efforts among this class of working people who need help so much.

UNIFICATION OF LABOR SOCIETIES.

I have endeavored to get the views of prominent labor men as to the most feasible plan of uniting under one head the labor societies

of this country. I have sent out some 2,000 circulars inviting conference with the Federation in this matter, but with the exception of from unions already connected with the organization, but little response has been made. The delegates from the Cigar-Makers' International Union are instructed to present a proposition which I will not forestall by stating. It appears to me that the radical difference in the views of different societies preclude the idea of unification excepting among the genuine unions. Progressive trades unionism will furnish a broad and enduring basis for societies desiring practical league together. The onward movement must of necessity follow the trade line, both on account of its greater feasibility and the economic soundness of the course.

ANSWER TO JARRETT'S LETTER.

Agreeable to instructions received from the Legislative Committee, your Secretary wrote an answer to the letter of Mr. John Jarrett in relation to the position of the Federation on the tariff question. The receipt of the communication was not acknowledged, and no answer has yet been returned.

(Letter appended to report of '83.)

REPORTS OF LAST CONGRESS.

In regard to the disposal of the printed reports of the last year's Congress, I have to follow the unpleasant example set in the two preceding reports, in stating that but about fifty per cent. of the edition of 2,700 copies has been disposed of. The resolution levying a per capita tax of \$2.50 per thousand membership on organizations represented in this body, and forwarding therefor for each \$2.50 one hundred copies of the report, has not been fully carried out. Two international unions only, the Cigar-Makers and Amalgamated Engineers, have complied with the request, together with most of the trades assemblies. I have forwarded copies gratuitously to many members of legislative bodies, and a detailed report of receipts from the sale of the proceedings is submitted in my financial statement.

One of two things must be done in the future. Either funds must be raised to print an edition gratuitously, or but an abstract of the proceedings must be published.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

It becomes my pleasant duty to inform you of the opening of fraternal relations between the trades unions of France and America. Last autumn a delegation of fourteen of our French brothers visited this country, sent by syndical chambers, comprising sixty-eight, of the mechanical arts. Their expenses were defrayed by the municipality of Paris. Among the delegates were several members of the national committee of the French Federated Trades, including Mr. Louis Balin, the secretary of that organization. It was my good fortune, during their stay in Boston, to extend the courtesies of our Federation to them, and from the relations thus formed has sprung a correspondence which I sincerely hope may prove fruitful of good in the future.

After the return of the delegates to Paris I received the following communication:

Socialist-Workingmen's League of France,
Headquarters, 47 Rue de Clery,
Paris, January 7, 1884.

To Frank K. Foster, Secretary of the American League of Trades Unions:

Dear Citizen: Citizens Balin and Ribanier, who were entrusted with the duty of opening up friendly relations with the workingmen's societies of America and the League of Socialist-Workingmen of France, presented their report to the French national committee at their meeting, January 6.

The national committee unanimously approved the conduct of its delegates, and indorsed, in principle, the verbal understanding entered into between its delegates and the American trades unions.

The re-election of the national committee is now taking place. Fifteen members have just been re-elected and there remains five to be re-elected. As soon as the final elections have taken place—end of January—the national committee will appoint its committee on foreign relations. This committee will be instructed to present a report to the national committee, and the latter will decide as to future action.

From this moment, I think I can fully assure you that the national committee will certainly ratify the engagements of its delegates, Citizens Balin and Ribanier.

Believe me, citizen, that our greatest desire is to see friendly relations established between American and French workingmen, and be good enough to assure the members of the American League of Trades Unions that we will use all our efforts to bring about the realization of this desire.

To you, citizen, and to our American comrades, our most fraternal salutations.

By order of the national committee.
VICTOR MAROUCK, Secretary.

A few weeks after the receipt of the foregoing came another communication, this time from the secretary of the committee on foreign affairs, M. L. Herbonet, as follows:

Paris, Feb. 10, 1884.

Frank K. Foster, Sec. etc.:

After the expositions of Amsterdam and Boston, we mutually promised ourselves to get up friendly relations in the world of labor. We recollect this promise and, men of our word, we come to-day to fulfill it.

For this purpose, we embrace with earnestness the project of a Workingmen's International Exposition in Paris, independent of official protection.

The workingmen of all countries have a great interest to see, know, and esteem one another.

An international exposition is able to bring about this end, and all the working people owe it to themselves to join this movement.

It is our duty to conquer the difficulties, to remove the obstacles our governments have approved; and no citizen worthy to be called by the name of workingman is able to say aught against purely social and humanitarian work; no one is able to avoid the question.

Therefore, it is with the most entire confidence that we await your reply; your opinions to be given immediately, as time presses.

Immediately our project is adopted by you, please constitute a committee and give to us your material and moral support. We shall

instantly take the measures necessary to conduct our work to a successful end.

In the hope of success, we send to you our fraternal greeting.

L. HERBONET, Designer,
Secretary of the Foreign Committee.
Rue de Pomonniers, 33, Paris.

Knowing that the somewhat ambiguous powers possessed by our Legislative Committee would scarcely permit of our entering into any formal agreement, I thought it best to content myself with conveying to the French foreign committee sentiments of unity on behalf of the Federation of Trades, and assured them that the Congress of 1884 would consider the most feasible plan of universal federation. Correspondence has been maintained with the French committee since that time, and I submit to your consideration the last letter, received by me a short time ago:

Paris, 12 September, 1884.

To the Trades Unions' Central Committee of the United States and Canada:

Dear Citizens: The Workingmen's Federation Union for the French central region, (Socialist-Workingmen Federation of France,) in its last sitting, and unanimously, has adhered to the principle of an international federation, the project of which has been spoken of to our delegates when at Boston, (Mass.)

Our Federative Union committee, and conjointly that of the National Federation of France, have just, in consequence, received from all the syndical or local corporative chambers rallied to our party, full powers to plan with you any measure thought best to secure the carrying out of said organization.

As soon as the Chicago Congress be opened we expect to be informed of any resolution concerning it that your delegates may adopt.

The increasing miseries incurred by our fellow-workers all over the world render it more imperative than ever that the whole of workingmen's federations, whatever their nationalities, should aggregate in such a fraternal way that the tie would at last become indestructible, without which understanding victory over our actual tyrants, the capitalists, could never be attained.

Be so kind as to convey to the members of your annual Congress the best feelings we entertain, in fact, towards all of you.

Our cheers for the workingmen federations of the world!

And long life to the workingmen wise enough to depend on themselves, on the exertions of their own class members only to conquer!

Yours fraternally,

LOUIS BALIN,

Secretary to the Federative Union of the Central Region.
(Union Federative Committee Federal.)

P. S. — Our annual congress (Federation of the Socialist-Workingmen of France) is to be held at Rennes, and opened on the 18th of September next. The order of the day, previously adopted is as follows:

1st. Of our syndical chambers' attitude towards the recent state law, which is to regulate now the working of the trades unions in France.

2. Of the average situation of work people employed in arsenals, factories, railways, posts and telegraphs of the state in France.

3d. Of the duration of day work and its limitation.

4th. Courts of justice relating to handicraft affairs only.

5th. Agricultural, commercial and industrial crisis.

6th. Administrative questions.

Gentlemen of the Fourth Congress, in leaving this matter in your hands, I do so with the deepest concern for the success of the movement to which it relates. 'A federation of the workers of the world has long been the dream of idealists; it remains with you to make it reality. In the old war for the birth of our Republic, France fought side by side with us. In this still older war for the creation of the Republic of Labor, her sons and daughters are enlisted under the common banner of the social movement. The labor question is practically the same the world over; it varies in degree, not in kind. Labor knows no country, and the laborers of the world should clasp hands for their common weal. With industrial unity, barbaric war cannot exist. A universal federation would be of inestimable material and moral benefit. Begin the good work by ratifying and consolidating the spirit of fraternity extended to you by the trades unions of our sister republic across the Atlantic.

I hope and recommend that the Congress will send a formal memorial to the French federation, and that at least a monthly correspondence may be kept up, so that mutual knowledge of a progress may be had by those engaged in social work and study.

CONCLUSION.

In concluding this hastily-written report, I will do so with a feeling of regret that I am not able to submit it in person and explain some of the defects in its completeness. As Secretary of the Federation, I have not been able to devote that time to its work which it deserved, both on account of my own preoccupation and the insufficient provision devised by the Federation. Aggressive and constant work is needed to build up the Federation. A secretary who can devote at least half, if possible the whole, of his time to it is a necessity. The clerical work of the office is something which must be experienced to be appreciated. I am under obligations to the labor press of the country for favors shown and also to many individuals. I think that many unions who cannot afford to send delegates would be glad to connect themselves officially with us in a less expensive manner. The Congress should make itself a center of trades unionism and the head of the *bona fide* trade societies of the country, directing labor legislation in uniform channels, acting as the mouth-piece for organized labor, the high tribunal of appeal against oppression and greed.

With the highest expression of regard toward the assembled delegates, and the sincerest wishes for the growth of the Federation, I have the honor to be

Yours fraternally,
FRANK K. FOSTER,
Secretary.

The report was referred to a committee of five, consisting of Messrs. Hogan, Askew, Doran, Ogden, and McClelland.

Adjourned.

SECOND DAY—Afternoon Session.

The Congress was called to order at the appointed time by the President, W. J. Hammond.

The roll of officers and delegates was called and absentees noted.

A congratulatory message was received from the Amalgamated Labor Unions of New York City, and the Treasurer was ordered to send a suitable reply.

On motion, it was ordered that a committee of five be appointed, to whom all resolutions shall be submitted, unless otherwise ordered.

The President appointed the following as the Committee on Resolutions: C. W. Rowan, Aug. Stirmel, W. R. Ramsey, J. B. Waterhouse, G. Edmonston.

Mr. Ramsey offered the following:

RESOLVED, That this Congress respectfully but earnestly protest against the attitude assumed by President Chester A. Arthur in refusing to appoint a chief of the Labor Bureau of Statistics.

Adopted.

The Committee on Standing Orders submitted the following report:

RESOLVED, By the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United

States and Canada, that eight hours shall constitute a legal day's labor from and after May 1, 1886, and that we recommend to labor organizations throughout this jurisdiction that they so direct their laws as to conform to this resolution by the time named.

Proposed by G. Edmonston, Washington, D. C.

Seconded by Thomas J. Doran, Chicago, Ill. Your Committee on Standing Orders, after a careful investigation of the subject-matter of the above resolution, would respectfully recommend its adoption by the Congress.

F. BLEND, Chairman.

AUGUST DONATH.

JAMES O'SULLIVAN.

J. P. MCGINLEY.

W. W. McCLELLAND.

After a lengthy discussion, participated in by Messrs. Donath, Oyster, Hogan, Doran, McClelland, Edmonston, Powers, Askew, and Ogden, the previous question was ordered.

On the question of adoption the ayes and nays were called, with the following result:

Ayes — Hammond, O'Sullivan, Edmonston, Ramsey, Smith, Levy, Iowa, Hogan, Donath, Blend, Ogden, Waterhouse, Connolly, McClelland, Stirmel, Powers, Bernard, and McGinley Finnegun, Rowan, Oyster, Doran, Cameron, —23.

Nays—Askew and Oten—2.

Adjourned.

THIRD DAY—Morning Session.

The Congress was called to order at 10 o'clock A. M. by the President, W. J. Hammond.

Roll of officers and delegates was called and absentees noted.

Minutes of previous day were read and approved.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

The Committee on Standing Orders made a partial report.

The Committee on Resolutions reported as follows:

To the Officers and Delegates of the Fourth Annual Session of the Federated Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada:

Your Committee on Resolutions beg leave to submit the following report:

The resolution offered by Robt. Howard we recommend for adoption. The resolution reads as follows:

"WHEREAS, in view of a constitutional amendment now pending in the National House of Representatives relative to limiting the hours of females and minors employed in textile industries, and in view of the fact that such legislation cannot be made practicable unless it receives a majority vote of the various State Legislatures in its favor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Committee and the delegates present use their best efforts to secure the support of the legislators in their respective States in sustaining such legislation."

We also recommend for adoption the following resolution offered by Thos. P. Doran:

"This Congress recommends that a labor exchange be opened in every city and district which has a trade assembly, for the purpose of acting as an intelligence office between employers and employed, and guarding against the confidence games of certain employment agencies which fleece men who seek work."

We have carefully considered the preamble

and resolutions submitted by W. B. Ogden, which reads as follows:

"WHEREAS, it has become evident to the organized labor of this country that the generous gifts of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness guaranteed by our Declaration of Independence are gradually and effectually being swept away from us by the pernicious system known as 'child labor'; and

"WHEREAS, intelligent action can only be taken upon the system after a full knowledge of the extent of said system has obtained; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Federated Trades of North America deem it necessary that active steps be taken in the near future looking to the total overthrow of said system.

RESOLVED, That a committee of five members be appointed, whose duty shall be to collect statistics in relation to this system, and report to the Legislative Committee of this body.

RESOLVED, That the sum of \$10 be placed in the hands of each member of the said committee for correspondence expense, etc."

Your committee fully indorse the subject-matter of the above resolutions, but recommend that in view of the state of our finances no action be taken at this session.

Resolution by Robt. Howard in reference to adjusting the difficulty between the Cigar-Makers' International and the Progressive Cigar-Makers' Union is already covered by the report of the Legislative Committee which was adopted on yesterday.

For the resolution offered by J. B. Waterhouse, we offer the following substitute and recommend its adoption:

"We recommend the passage of such laws by the several States as will put in operation the proper machinery to adjust all difficulties between employer and employees."

Resolutions by T. P. Doran relating to contract system on Government work and the eight-hour law are already covered by platform of principles, and we recommend that no action be taken on them.

Resolution offered by E. W. Oyster relating to the evasion of the eight-hour law, we recommend that it be referred to Standing Orders Committee.

On the resolution presented by Thos. P. Doran, which, as amended by the committee, reads:

Congress was called to order by the President, W. J. Hammond, at 2 o'clock P. M.

Roll of officers and delegates called and absentees noted.

Committee on Prize Essays reported progress.

A communication was received from J. P. McDonnell, of Paterson, N. J., urging the Federation to take active steps to push legislation favorable to the laborers' interests.

On motion, the communication was received and ordered to be placed on file.

"We recommend the formation of Building Trades Leagues for the protection of wages in all cities and towns throughout the country."

We recommend the same for your favorable consideration.

G. EDMONSTON, Chairman.
AUG. STIRMEL, Secretary.
C. W. ROWAN,
W. R. RAMSEY,
J. B. WATERHOUSE,
Committee.

The report of the committee was received and, on motion, the recommendation adopted.

The resolution offered by M. D. Connolly, indorsing Mr. August Donath for the position of Commissioner of Labor Statistics, was taken up for action.

On the motion to adopt considerable discussion ensued. Many who favored the resolution thought it ill-advised action after the adoption of the resolution protesting against the action of President Arthur in neglecting to appoint a Commissioner of Labor Statistics.

On motion, the resolution was laid on the table.

A telegraphic communication from the New York Trades and Labor Assembly, expressing approval of the action taken by the Federation in excluding from representation the Progressive Cigar-Makers' Union of Chicago, was received.

The communication was received and ordered to be placed on file.

A communication was received from the Chicago Trade and Labor Assembly, extending to the delegates an invitation to a banquet given in their honor at McCoy's Hotel, on the evening of October 9, 1884.

The invitation was accepted without discussion.

On motion, the Congress adjourned to meet at 2 o'clock P. M.

THIRD DAY—Afternoon Session.

Messrs. Powers and Bernard offered the following:

WHEREAS, the seamen of the lakes have a bill pending before Congress, known as the Foran bill, for the better protection of life and property on the great inland seas; and

WHEREAS, it is absolutely necessary that said bill should pass in its present shape; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Congress of Confederated Trades and Labor Unions of the United States, now in session in Chicago, Ill., demand the immediate passage of the bill on the reassembling of the Forty-eighth Congress.

The preamble and resolution were put upon their final passage and adopted.

Mr. E. W. Oyster presented the following:

RESOLVED, by the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada in Congress assembled, that the thanks of this Congress are hereby tendered to Senator Blair of New Hampshire, Senator George of Mississippi, and Senator Call of Florida, members of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, and to Representatives Hopkins of Pennsylvania, Foran of Ohio, Loring of Massachusetts, O'Neill of Missouri, members of the House Committee on Labor, for their earnest support of the labor bureau bill, the bill to prohibit the importation of foreign labor under contract, the bill for the enforcement of the eight hour law, and other bills in the interest of the working classes of the country.

Adopted, and copies of the resolution ordered sent to the gentlemen named therein.

A resolution was offered by Mr. A. C. Cameron, which reads:

RESOLVED, That the first Monday in September of each year be set apart as a laborers' national holiday, and that we recommend its observance by all wage workers, irrespective of sex, calling, or nationality.

Adopted.

Mr. Fred. Blend and others submitted a set of resolutions embodying the proposed law creating a fund whereby the different organizations under the jurisdiction of the Federation might be able to assist each other in the event of a strike or lockout, and asked for its reference to the Committee on Standing Orders.

The resolutions were referred to that committee.

Mr. Hogan offered the following, which was adopted:

RESOLVED, That the Senate of the United States be requested to take favorable action at the earliest possible moment with reference to the bill now on their table prohibiting the importation of foreign contract labor.

On a motion by Mr. A. C. Cameron, the Secretary was directed to send a copy of the resolution to Senator Blair.

In consequence of the large amount of work in the lands of the several committees, a motion to adjourn at 4 o'clock was carried, to enable them to complete their labors.

FOURTH DAY—Morning Session.

The Congress was called to order at the appointed time, President W. J. Hammond in the chair.

Roll call of delegates, and absentees noted. Minutes of previous day were read, and approved after some corrections had been made.

Mr. Aug. Donath rose to a question of privilege. He stated that in a Chicago paper of that morning an interview was published in which he was made to appear as casting reflections on certain delegates, which was wholly untrue, and asked that the Congress go into secret session at 12 o'clock.

On motion, Mr. Donath's request was granted.

The Committee on Resolutions reported as follows:

On the resolution offered by Mr. A. C. Cameron, we recommend it for adoption. The resolution reads:

"RESOLVED, That the best method to secure the organization and unification of labor on a sound financial basis, the adoption and enforcement of an efficient apprenticeship system, the substitution of arbitration for strikes as an honorable means of securing an amicable settlement of all disputes and grievances between employers and employees, be made the special subjects for discussion and action

at the next session of the Congress, and that the officers of this body be requested to announce the fact to the labor organizations of the United States and Canada, with the request that the members thereof make these questions a special study, so that their delegates will come prepared to intelligently discuss and act on them."

On the resolution offered by Mr. W. W. McClelland, your committee offer the following substitute, offered by Mr. Ramsey, and recommend it for adoption:

"RESOLVED, That the Legislative Committee of this body be directed to request Senator Blair to introduce a joint resolution to print 300,000 copies of the report of the Committee on Education and Labor, for gratuitous distribution among the various trade and labor organizations of the United States."

The Auditors reported as follows:
To the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada:

We, your Auditors, beg to report that we have examined the books and vouchers handed to us by your Treasurer and find the same correct, the total amount received being \$336.22 Balance on hand at end of last session. . 373.82

Grand total\$710.04
Amount expended, as per vouchers.... 365.07

Balance in Treasury.....\$344.97

There remain still unpaid in the hands of the Treasurer bills for—

Two telegrams	\$1.37
Carrying Secretary's baggage through Boston	.75
Postage, loss of time by the Treasurer, etc.	5.00
Total	\$7.12

Which your Auditors recommend for payment; and a bill from P. H. McLogan for \$17.00, for loss of time during the year, which they report back without recommendation.

Respectfully,
JAS. W. SMITH,
J. B. WATERHOUSE,
Auditors.

The report was read by the Secretary and the recommendations of the committee adopted.

On motion, the bill of P. H. McLogan was ordered to be paid.

The Committee on Standing Orders made their final report, which reads:

To the Officers and Delegates of the Fourth Annual Session of the Trades Congress:

Your Committee on Standing Orders beg leave to submit the following report:
(See Declaration of Principles, Platform, etc., pages 3 and 4.)

Your committee respectfully recommend to your honorable body that the article providing for benefits from this Federation in the event of strikes or lockouts shall be at once referred to all organizations under the jurisdiction of this Federation for action and, if approved by a two-third vote of the actual membership of this Federation, then it shall become a law; otherwise it is to remain void and inoperative.

FRED. BLEND, Chairman;
AUGUST DONATH, Sec.;
JAS. O'SULLIVAN,
J. P. MCGINLEY,
W. W. MCCLELLAND,
Committee.

The report was read and made the special order for the afternoon session.

The Committee on Prize Essays requested an extension of ninety days to complete their labors.

The time asked for was granted.

The special committee on the Annual Report of the Legislative Committee reported as follows:

Chicago, October 9, 1884.

Your special committee, to whom was referred the report of the Legislative Committee, beg leave to report as follows:

In reference to the recommendation that State organizers be appointed, we would suggest that the Congress adopt the following:

Each delegate to this Congress shall be given credentials properly signed by the chairman of the Legislative Committee, giving him authority to act as an organizer under the auspices of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions, with a view to making more perfect trade and labor unions that are without a national organization, and securing a larger representation of trade assemblies and national and international unions in this body.

As to the suggestion of the committee that the Secretary of the Congress be authorized to furnish blank forms to each delegate for the gathering of statistical information concerning strikes, we would respectfully recommend the adoption of the same.

The Legislative Committee's suggestion looking to the adoption of an eight-hour law in the near future have been partly covered by the resolution introduced by Mr. Edmonston, and your committee would recommend that no further action be taken.

The report shows a lack of interest in the sale of the Proceedings of last year, and the Legislative Committee state that some action on this matter is necessary. We leave the solution of the difficulty with the Congress.

We recommend that the Secretary of the Congress be instructed to forward to the secretary of the Federative Union of the Central Region of France a suitable reply to the communication received from that body.

Other matters referred to in the report have been acted upon by this Congress.

Respectfully submitted.

JOHN F. HOGAN,
HENRY ASKEW,
WILLIAM W. MCCLELLAND,
WM. B. OGDEN,
THOS. P. DORAN,
Committee.

The report was read, and, on motion of Mr. Hogan, was taken up *seriatim*.

On motion by Mr. Connolly, the Secretary was instructed to ascertain the number of copies of Proceedings wanted by the organizations represented.

The matter was referred to the Federation in secret session, where it was adopted.

On motion the recommendations of the committee were adopted.

Messrs. Powers and Edmonston offered the following:

RESOLVED, That the incoming Legislative Committee be instructed to extend an invitation to the Knights of Labor to co-operate in the general movement to establish the eight hour reform.

Adopted.

Mr. Edmonston offered the following:

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Committee investigate the interstate-commerce measure proposed in the United States Congress by the Hon. J. H. Ragan, and report their conclusions on the same at the next session of this body.

Adopted.

Mr. Powers introduced a resolution indorsing Hon. Martin Foran for re-election as a faithful representative of the working class.

The resolution was discussed at length by several delegates.

Mr. Askew offered the following substitute:

WHEREAS, Many of the evils complained of by wage-workers cannot be removed unless by legislative enactment;

RESOLVED, That we deem it the imperative duty of every trade unionist and wage worker in North America to work and vote for

candidates for legislative honors who have proved themselves true friends to the cause of organized labor.

Pending which the President announced the hour of 12 o'clock.

FOURTH DAY—Afternoon Session.

The Federation was called to order promptly at 2 o'clock P. M. by the President, W. J. Hammond.

Roll of officers and delegates was called and absentees noted.

The consideration of Mr. Askew's substitute for Mr. Powers' resolution was resumed and adopted.

The Auditors made their final report, as follows:

To the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada:

Your auditors have examined the Secretary's report and beg to report that they find it correct as compared with the books of the Treasurer, and find an indebtedness to the Secretary of \$29.91 incurred since the last settlement with the Treasurer, for which he has vouchers. We find that the Secretary had 2700 copies of the Proceedings of last session printed, of which Mr. McLogan took 500 copies and sold 24 copies at 5 cents each. He will pay \$1.20, and return the remaining copies. Mr. Edmonston took 50 copies and sold 8 at 10 cents each, for which amount he has been credited in the Treasurer's report, and the remaining copies are at the disposal of the Federation. Geo. Blair, of New York, took twenty copies at 5 cents each and made no returns as yet; all others taking copies have settled in full.

JAS. W. SMITH,
J. B. WATERHOUSE,
Auditors.

(See Treasurer's Report, page 19.)

The report of the Committee on Standing Orders was taken up and considered *seriatim*.

Mr. Oyster offered an amendment to section 1, Platform of Principles, by adding the words "and urge the enactment of eight-hour laws by State legislatures and municipal corporations."

Adopted.

Article IX was debated at length by Messrs. Blend, Hogan, Powers, Donath, Doran and McGinley.

On motion of Mr. McGinley the article was adopted.

Mr. Oyster offered an amendment to section 12 by striking out the word "Government," in second line, and to insert the words, "National, State and municipal."

Adopted.

The Federation went into secret session, during which personal explanations were made and minor details of business transacted, after which the Congress adjourned.

Mr. Hogan offered an amendment to article III under the title of Organization, by striking out the words "the first Tuesday in October," and to insert "the second Tuesday in December."

Adopted.

Mr. Edmonston offered a resolution in regard to unearned railroad canal grants, which, on motion, was added to Supplementary Resolutions as No. 3. (See page 4.)

On motion of Mr. McGinley, the report of the Committee on Standing Orders was adopted as a whole.

Mr. Stirmel offered the following, which was adopted:

WHEREAS, The Cigar-makers' International Union of America have from time to time urged upon the legislature of the state of New York the abolition of the tenement-house system; and

WHEREAS, The Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States have adopted resolutions to urge upon the State legislature of New York to abolish the system known as the tenement-house cigar factories; and

WHEREAS, The same having passed both houses of the legislature and signed by the Governor of the State of New York; and

WHEREAS, The manufacturers in tenement-house cigar factories have contested its constitutionality and brought it before the Supreme Court of said State; and

WHEREAS, Said court has declared it unconstitutional on account of an error, whereupon the Cigar-makers' International Union again presented a revised bill which passed both houses of the legislature, and was signed by the Governor, only to be again declared unconstitutional by the same court; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we denounce the action of the Supreme Court of the State of New York for their blind subservency to the wealth of that state.

On motion, the price of the Proceedings was fixed at 5 cents per copy.

The election of officers was then proceeded with.

Gabriel Edmonston and August Donath were nominated for Secretary.

Mr. Donath in a few appropriate remarks withdrew, and declared his purpose to vote for

Mr. Edmonston, who was thereon elected by acclamation.

The following were unanimously elected as the Legislative Committee:

Chairman—W. W. McClelland.
1st Vice-Chairman—J. W. Smith.
2d Vice-Chairman—Richard Powers.
3d Vice-Chairman—Jas. O'Sullivan.
4th Vice-Chairman—Fred. Blend.
5th Vice-Chairman—W. B. Ogden.
6th Vice-Chairman—Jos. Bernard.
Treasurer—Robert Howard.

Mr. Hogan moved that when we adjourn, it be to meet in Washington, D. C., on the second Tuesday in December.

Adopted.

A vote of thanks was tendered to the Chicago Trades Assembly; also to the retiring officers for their able and efficient services.

Twenty-five copies of "John Swinton's Paper" were received with thanks.

The Fourth Annual Session adjourned *sine die*.

TREASURER'S REPORT FROM CONVENTION 1883 TO 1884.

INCOME SHEET.

August 24th, balance in hand.....	\$373 82
Received from German Typographical Union	12 50
Received for Reports from Secretary...	45 42
By cash from Secretary.....	10 00
For Reports from Fall River Spinners' Union	2 50
Jos. Bernard, Lake Seamen's Union, levies	20 00
For Reports from Gabriel Edmonston..	80
William W. McClelland, Amalgamated Engineers, levies	20 00
Tailors' National Union, representatives dues, James Smith	10 00
Columbia Typographical Union, No. 101, Washington, D. C., representative dues	10 00
Cincinnati Typographical Union, No. 3, Representatives dues	10 00
Assembly 280, Queen's City K. of L., representative dues	10 00
Brotherhood of Carpenters, P. J. McGuire, levies	20 00
International Typographical Union levies	40 00
Typographical Union No. 16 Chicago, representative dues	10 00
Cigar-Makers' Union No. 14.....	10 00
National Granite-Cutters' Union, levies	20 00
Federation of Trades, Washington, D.C. Cincinnati Trades Assembly	10 00
International Furniture Workers	10 00
C. W. Rowan, International Cigar-Makers' Union	40 00
Chicago Trades Assembly	10 00
Bricklayers' Union No. 4, New York, for Reports	2 50
Bookbinders' Union, New York.....	2 50
Received for Reports, P. H. McLogan..	1 20
Illinois State Federation, J. P. McGinley.....	10 00
Cigar-Makers' Union, No. 54.....	10 00

Total income up to close of Convention.....\$731 24

Total expenditure up to close of Convention

Balance in hand\$188 04

EXPENDITURE SHEET.

Paid for copying press.....	\$ 25 00
Stamps and cost or order.....	1 15
To Frank K. Foster, for organizing...	8 20
To Robert Howard, organizing.....	7 80
Cost of printing the Reports of Convention	154 00
Cost of printing letters for distribution..	20 00
Cost of money order	15
Expenses for organizing Woonsocket, R. I., hall, printing, men's wages, etc.	26 85
To Frank K. Foster, organizing Fall River	12 50
To Frank K. Foster, organizing Fall River	5 50
Telegram to Washington	50
To Robert Howard, for holding ten-hour meeting in Woonsocket, R. I.	13 30
To Robert Howard, organizing in Lawrence, Mass.....	10 00
To F. K. Foster, 20 days' labor.....	60 00
To F. K. Foster, postage, etc.....	4 76
To F. K. Foster, miscellaneous expenses	10 86
Printing 1,000 circulars, J. Mandeville.	4 50
Two telegrams answering greetings from convention	1 37
Expressing baggage from depots	75
Treasurer's expenses during the year..	5 00
To P. H. McLogan, President, loss of time during the year.....	17 00
Rent of hall	20 00
Printing daily reports	10 00
P. H. McLogan, for loss of time during session	10 00
Stationery, ink, pens, etc., for Congress	95
Janitor's services for Congress.....	8 00
Traveling expenses, etc., for Treasurer attending Convention, owing to not being a delegate	75 00
To Frank K. Foster, printing and loss of time	29 91
Cost of sending order.....	15

Total expenditure

Balance in hand\$543 20

188 04

\$731 24

1885

Report of the Fifth Annual Session

OF THE

Federation of Organized Trades and Labor
Unions of the United States
and Canada

HELD AT

WASHINGTON, D. C.

December 8, 9, 10 and 11

1885

Published by Direction of the Federation

FEDERATION
OF
Organized Trades and Labor Unions
OF THE
UNITED STATES AND CANADA.

Declaration of Principles.

PREAMBLE.

WHEREAS, A struggle is going on in the nations of the civilized world between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between the capitalist and the laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the toiling millions of all nations if not combined for mutual protection and benefit; and

WHEREAS, The history of the wage-workers of all countries is but the history of constant struggle and misery engendered by ignorance and disunion; and

WHEREAS, The history of the non-producers of all ages proves that a minority, thoroughly organized, may work wonders for good or evil;

It therefore behooves the representatives of the workers of North America, in Congress assembled, to adopt such measures and disseminate such principles among the people of our country and will unite them, for all time to come, to secure the recognition of the rights to which they are justly entitled. Conforming to the old adage, "In union there is strength," the formation of a federation embracing every trade and labor organization in North America, a union founded upon a basis as broad as the land we live in, is our greatest hope, for the past history of trades unions proves that small organizations, well conducted, have accomplished great good, yet that their efforts have not been of that lasting character which a thorough unification of all the different branches of industrial workers is bound to secure.

Conforming to the spirit of the times and to the necessities of the industrial classes, we make the following:

PLATFORM.

1. The national eight-hour law is one intended to benefit labor and to relieve it partly of its heavy burdens, and the evasion of its true spirit and intent is contrary to the best interests of the nation. We therefore demand the enforcement of said law in the spirit of

its designers and urge the enactment of eight-hour laws by State Legislatures and municipal corporations.

2. We demand the passage of laws in State Legislatures and in Congress for the incorporation of trades and labor unions, in order that the property of the laboring classes may have the same protection as the property of other classes.

3. We demand the passage of such legislative enactments as will enforce, by compulsion, the education of children up to their fourteenth year, and the prohibition of their employment in factories, workshops, mills, or mines until they have reached that age, for if the State has the right to exact certain compliance with its demands, then it is also the duty of the State to educate its people to the proper understanding of such demands.

4. We demand the passage of laws in the several States forbidding the employment of children under the age of fourteen years, in any capacity, under penalty of fine and imprisonment.

5. We demand the enactment of uniform apprentice laws throughout the country: that the apprentice to a mechanical trade may be made to serve a sufficient term of apprenticeship, and be provided by his employer, in his progress to maturity, with proper and sufficient facilities to finish him as a competent workman.

6. It is hereby declared the sense of this Congress that convict contract labor is a species of slavery in its worst form; it pauperizes labor, demoralizes the honest manufacturer, and degrades the very criminal whom it employs; and, as many articles of use and consumption made in our prisons under the contract system come directly and detrimentally in competition with the products of honest labor, we demand that the laws providing for labor under the contract system herein complained of be repealed.

7. What is known as the "order" or "truck" system of payment, instead of lawful currency as value for labor performed, is one not only of gross imposition, but of downright swindle to the honest laborer and mechanic, and we demand its entire abolition. Active measures should be taken to eradicate the evil by the

passage of laws imposing fine and imprisonment upon all individuals, firms, or corporations who continue to practice the same.

8. We demand the passage of such laws as will secure to the mechanic and workman the first lien upon property, the product of his labor, sufficient in all cases to justify his legal and just claims.

9. We demand the repeal and erasure from the statute books of all acts known as conspiracy laws, as applied to organizations of labor in the regulation of wages and hours of labor.

10. We recognize the wholesome effects of Bureaus of Labor Statistics as created by the National Government and in several States, and urge the creation of such bureaus in those States where they do not yet exist, and recommend for their management the appointment of proper persons, identified with the laboring classes of the country.

11. We demand the rigid enforcement of the law prohibiting the importation of all foreign laborers under contract, and demand that the law be so amended as to provide for the appointment of agents at all ports of entry of the United States to exercise a general supervision and the enforcement of said law.

12. We declare that the system of letting out national, State, and municipal work by contract tends to intensify the competition between workmen, and we demand the speedy abolishment of the same.

13. We demand the passage by our various legislative bodies of an employer's liability act, which shall give employees the same right to damages for personal injuries that all other persons have.

14. We recommend all trades and labor organizations to secure proper representation in all law-making bodies, by means of the ballot, and to use all honorable measures by which this result can be accomplished.

15. That we urge upon the Legislatures of our several States the passage of laws of license upon stationary engineers, and the enforcement of proper restrictions, which will better preserve and render protection to life and property.

16. That we demand from the several States strict laws for the inspection and ventilation of mines, factories, and workshops, the construction of proper fire-escapes, and the sanitary supervision of all food and dwellings.

17. We demand of our Representatives in the National Legislature that they declare such land grants as are not earned by railroad or other corporations forfeited, and to restore the same to the public domain.

ORGANIZATION AND CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.—NAME.

This association shall be known as "The Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States of America and Canada," and shall consist of such trades and labor unions as shall, after being duly admitted, conform to its rules and regulations, and pay all contributions required to carry out the objects of this Federation.

ARTICLE II.—OBJECTS.

The objects of this Federation shall be—
Section 1. The encouragement and formation of trades and labor unions.

Sec. 2. The encouragement and formation of trades and labor assemblies or councils.

Sec. 3. The encouragement and formation of State and Provincial federations of trades and labor unions.

Sec. 4. The encouragement and formation of national and international trades unions and secure their autonomy.

Sec. 5. To secure legislation favorable to the interests of the industrial classes.

ARTICLE III.—SESSIONS.

The sessions of the Federation shall be held annually, on the second Tuesday in December, at such place as the delegates have selected at the preceding Congress.

ARTICLE IV.—REPRESENTATION.

Section 1. The Federation shall be composed of national or international unions, State, district, or local federations of labor, and of local unions not represented through delegates from national unions, State or local federations of labor.

Sec. 2. The basis of representation in the Congress of this Federation shall be: From national or international unions, for less than 4,000 members, one delegate; for 4,000 or more, two delegates; for 8,000 or more, three delegates; for 16,000 or more, four delegates; for 32,000 or more, five delegates, and so on. From State, Territorial or Provincial federations of trades unions, two delegates. From local trades assemblies of councils, district assemblies of the Knights of Labor, or local trades unions, one delegate. But no local trades union shall be entitled to representation which has not been organized six months prior to the session of this body.

Sec. 3. No organization which has seceded from any State, national or international organization shall be allowed a representation or recognition from this Federation.

ARTICLE V.—OFFICERS.

Section 1. At the opening of the Congress the Chairman of the Legislative Committee shall take the chair until the Congress has elected its own President, which shall be its first business. The Congress shall then elect a Vice-President, two Secretaries, two Auditors, a Doorkeeper, and Messenger.

Sec. 2. After the election of officers of the session of the Federation the following committees, consisting of five members each, shall be appointed by the President:

1. Committee on Standing Orders and Laws.
2. Committee on Resolutions.
3. Committee on Finances and Expenditures.
4. Committee on the report of the Legislative Committee.

Sec. 3. On the last day of each annual session of the Federation the delegates shall elect a Legislative Committee of nine, consisting of President; First, Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Vice-President, Secretary and Treasurer.

Sec. 4. In the election of officers the election of Secretary shall take precedence.

Sec. 5. Should a vacancy in any of the members of the Legislative Committee occur between the annual meetings of the Congress, the Legislative Committee shall have the power to fill said vacancy. When such vacancy occurs in the office of President the Vice-Presidents shall succeed in the order named.

Sec. 6. No candidate shall be elected on the Legislative Committee unless he is a delegate from his own trade society, or represents a

trades council; and the body so represented must have contributed its capitation tax during the year previous to his nomination.

Sec. 7. The chairman and secretary of the Legislative Committee shall be members of the succeeding Congress from which they have been credited, but without vote.

ARTICLE VI.

Section 1. The duties of the Legislative Committee shall be to watch legislative measures directly affecting the question of labor, to initiate, whenever necessary, such legislative action as the Congress may direct, or as the exigencies of the time and circumstances may demand. The Legislative Committee shall have power to appoint an auxiliary committee when necessarily shall arise for the same.

Sec. 2. The duties of the Committee on Standing Orders and Laws shall be to exercise a supervision over the revision of all laws, platforms, rules, and standing orders, and be authorized to report such recommendations, and amendments as they deem necessary.

Sec. 3. The Committee on Resolutions shall consider all resolutions referred to them by the Federation, and report the same with such amendments or recommendations as they deem advisable.

Sec. 4. The Committee on Finance and Expenditures shall have full supervision over the financial affairs of the Federation, and make such recommendations as to them seem necessary to meet the financial requirements of this body for the ensuing year.

Sec. 5. The Committee on the Report of the Legislative Committee shall consider the report of that committee, and make such recommendations regarding the same as they may deem expedient.

ARTICLE VII.—REVENUE.

Section 1. The revenue of this Federation shall be derived from each national or international trade or labor union and each trades assembly or council or district assembly of the Knights of Labor affiliated with this Federation, and shall be assessed upon the following basis: For 1,000 members or less, \$10 per annum; 1,000 to 4,000, \$20 per annum; for a number exceeding 4,000, one cent per member per annum. Local or State trades assemblies or assemblies of Knights of Labor whose membership exceeds 1,000 shall be required to pay one cent per member, but in no case shall said tax exceed \$25.

Sec. 2. Delegates shall not be entitled to a seat in this Federation unless the per capita tax is paid in full.

Sec. 3. Whenever the Legislative Committee of this Federation are in need of funds necessary for the transaction of their business, they shall be empowered to levy an assessment upon the various organizations represented, such assessment not to exceed five cents per member and to be levied not more than twice in any one year. Every such assessment shall require a majority vote of the unions represented before being legal. All organizations shall return their vote upon an assessment within three months after notification, and if ratified by that time said assessment shall be paid to the Secretary of the Legislative Committee within sixty days thereafter.

ARTICLE VIII.—ACCOUNTS.

Section 1. The accounts of the year shall be closed fourteen days prior to the assembling of

the Congress, and a balance sheet duly certified and presented to the same.

Sec. 2. The remuneration for the loss of time by the Legislative Committee shall be at the rate of \$3 *per diem*, traveling and incidental expenses to be also defrayed. The attendance of the President and Secretary at the sessions, to be paid at the rate herein provided.

Sec. 3. All surplus moneys, after the payment of the expenses of the Congress, shall be handed over to the Treasurer of the Legislative Committee, for the general purposes of the Federation.

ARTICLE IX.—STRIKE BENEFITS.

[This article to be ratified by all organizations represented in the Federation, the time for returning to the Secretary, the official vote of each union, expiring March 1, 1886, and if approved by a two-thirds vote of the actual membership of this Federation, then it becomes a law. In case of its enactment, official notice will be given.]

Section 1. It shall be one of the cardinal principles of this Federation to secure the unification of all organizations under its jurisdiction upon one common financial basis, to assist its members in the event of a strike or lockout, if properly approved by the respective organizations to which they may be attached.

Sec. 2. The Legislative Committee of this Federation are hereby constituted the legal authority to approve and manage all strikes and lockouts, and to co-operate with the local organizations in the event of any such difficulty, and shall be empowered to levy assessments upon the different organizations under the jurisdiction of the Federation, enforce its collections under penalty of suspension after reasonable time has been granted for payment of the same, and have power to distribute the same as provided for by this article.

Sec. 3. In the event of a strike or lockout in any organization under the jurisdiction of this Federation, the Legislative Committee shall be empowered to levy an assessment not to exceed two (2) cents, weekly, upon members under the jurisdiction of this Federation.

ARTICLE X.—BOARD OF ARBITRATION.

[This article is to be ratified by a two-thirds vote of the organizations represented in the Federation before becoming a law. In case of its enactment, official notice will be given.]

The Legislative Committee shall act as a general Board of Arbitration and Boycotting, to whom shall be referred all classes of arbitration and boycotting.

When any union desires to submit a grievance to arbitration, or to place a universal boycott upon any firm, firms, party or parties, they shall apply to the Legislative Committee, who shall consider the matter, and, if they deem it advisable, take action for the settlement of such matter by arbitration or the placing of such boycott; providing, that they shall not interfere with the action of any union taken on their own responsibility, nor shall they consider the request of any union which has already taken action on such responsibility.

STANDING ORDERS

1. The time of the meetings of the Congress shall be as follows: On the first day, to assemble at noon; on all other days at 9 A. M. Adjourn at 12; reassemble at 2, and adjourn at 6 P. M.

2. The Congress having been formally opened by the President, the Legislative Committee shall present their report for the past year, which shall be read by the Secretary, and shall be laid on the table for discussion by the Congress; said report shall contain a list of the committee meetings, with dates and names of those present.

3. The reader of a paper shall be allowed twenty minutes; the mover of a resolution, fifteen minutes; succeeding speakers, ten minutes each. No one to speak more than twice on any one subject.

4. No second amendment to an original proposition shall be put to vote until the amendment is disposed of.

5. No papers shall be read except those which are required for legislative purposes; no member to read more than one paper.

6. All papers shall be sent to the Secretary of the Legislative Committee at least two weeks before the meeting of the ensuing Congress, the same to be read and arranged by the Committee, in order to facilitate the business of the Congress.

7. The Legislative Committee shall assist and co-operate with the local committee of the city where the next Congress is to be held, for the purpose of making the arrangements as complete as possible, and preparing the questions to be discussed, and together to take such joint action as the business or other special circumstances of the time may render necessary or desirable.

8. A sub-committee of the Legislative Committee, consisting of the President and Secretary, shall meet two days before the meeting of each Congress, to arrange matters for the Congress.

RULES

1. At the appointed time the chairman shall call the Congress to order.

2. During the hours of meeting no delegate will be allowed to leave the room, unless on special business.

3. Every delegate, when he rises to speak, shall respectfully address the chair. While speaking, he shall confine himself to the question.

4. Should two or more rise to speak at the same time, the chair shall decide who is entitled to the floor.

5. No delegate shall interrupt another in his remarks, unless to call him to order for words spoken or for the purpose of explanation.

6. If a delegate, while speaking, be called to order, he shall, at the request of the chair, take his seat until the question of order is determined, when, if permitted, he may proceed again.

7. A delegate shall not speak more than once on the same subject or question until all who wish to speak shall have had an opportunity to do so, nor more than twice without permission from the house, nor any longer than ten minutes at one time.

8. A question shall not be subject to debate until it has been seconded and stated from the chair, and it shall be reduced to writing at the request of any member.

9. When a question is before the house, no motion shall be in order except to adjourn, for the previous question, to postpone indefinitely, to postpone for a certain time, to divide, to commit, or to amend, which motions shall severally have precedence in the order herein arranged.

10. A motion to lay on the table shall be put without debate.

11. A motion for a reconsideration shall not be received, unless made in the same session by a delegate who voted in the majority.

12. Any delegate who shall misbehave himself in the meeting, or disturb the harmony or order thereof, either by abusive, disorderly, or profane language, or shall refuse obedience to the presiding officer, shall be admonished of his offence from the chair, and if he offend again, he shall be excluded from the room for the session, and afterward dealt with as the Congress may determine.

13. All questions not herein provided for shall be decided according to Cushing's Manual.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

1. Roll call of officers and delegates.
2. Reading minutes of previous session.
3. Report of Committee on Credentials.
4. Reports of officers.
5. Reports of regular committees.
6. Reports of special committees.
7. Unfinished business.
8. New business.
9. Good of the Federation.

DELEGATES TO THE FIFTH ANNUAL SESSION.

Baltimore Federation of Labor—George G. King, 163, West Baltimore street, Baltimore, Md.; John S. Rye, 167 Forest street, Baltimore, Md.

*Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America—Gabriel Edmonston, 719 Twelfth street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

Chicago Trades and Labor Assembly—W. E. Tomson, 822 South Ashland avenue, Chicago, Ill.

Cigar-Makers' International Union—Samuel Gompers, 307 East 14th street, New York, N. Y.; John S. Kirchner, 543 Dillwyn street, Philadelphia, Pa.; J. F. Mahoney, Mansion House, Springfield, Mass.

Cincinnati Trades and Labor Assembly—M. D. Connolly, 31½ West Third street, Cincinnati, O.

Furniture Workers' International Union—Henry Emrich, 819 First avenue, New York, N. Y.; Ernst Bauer, 52 Millman street, Baltimore, Md.

German-American Typographia—Hugo A. Miller, Town of Union, Hudson county, N. J. Granite-Cutters' National Union—Patrick F. McAuliffe, 1000 South Capitol street, Washington, D. C.

*International Typographical Union—Samuel S. Green, 1019 Second street, Louisville, Ky.; Wm. Graydon, Jr., Daily Telegraph Composing Room, New York.

Journeyman Tailors' National Union—Charles H. Sharp, 518 South Thirteenth street, Philadelphia, Pa.

Philadelphia Central Labor Union—W. H. Foster, 1921 South Fourth street, Philadelphia, Pa.

Washington Federation of Labor—E. W. Oyster, 937 Rhode Island avenue, Washington, D. C.; Thomas S. Denham, 901 G street, Washington, D. C.

*The credentials of the delegation from the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America were received too late for presentation on the first day of the session. One member of the delegation, J. W. Pugsley, of Baltimore, was prevented by unavoidable circumstances from attending the session. William J. Hammond, of New Orleans, one of the delegation from the International Typographical Union, was also absent on account of serious illness.

FEDERATION

OF

Organized Trades and Labor Unions

OF THE

UNITED STATES AND CANADA—1885.

Report of Proceedings. First Day—Morning Session.

Grand Army Hall,

Washington, D. C., December 8, 1885.

The fifth annual Congress of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada convened at noon, on the above date.

J. W. Smith, of Springfield, Ill., Chairman of the Legislative Committee, opened the session with the following address:

Gentlemen of the Federation:—By the resignation of Mr. W. W. McClelland, whom the last session of the Federation elected Chairman of your Executive Committee, I find myself according to your Constitution, called upon to open the deliberative session of your body. Appreciating, as I trust you do, to a certain extent, the importance attached to the intelligent action of the organized labor of the country—a country whose resources, future and influence are almost unlimited, and which is the last refuge of oppressed humanity at this particular crisis, a crisis which is to decide whether we are a republic in fact as well as in name—and recognizing the greatest good to the greatest number, it is needless to add that I trust your deliberations will be conducted with wisdom, prudence, intelligence, positiveness, and foresight, having for its guiding star the welfare of the producing classes whose interests you profess to serve. Assembling, as we do, under the shadow of the nation's capital, where our lawmakers are expected to enact the positive ideas contained in the foregoing expressions into law, permit me to hope that your requirements at their hands will be such as to command themselves to the sober second thought of the people. Gentlemen, I now declare the session of the Federation open for business.

Hon. Martin A. Foran, Congressman from the Twenty-first District of Ohio, being present in the hall, was invited to the platform and spoke as follows:

Gentlemen of the Federation:—I had no sooner reached the capital last Friday than I was met by Mr. Edmonston, who requested me to be present with you to-day, which I promised to do. Washington is a large city, with plenty of room in which strangers can find a welcome, and on behalf of the people of Washington—I do not say citizens, for they are not citizens, as you know—I extend to you a hearty welcome. We welcome you as representatives of a great cause—the organized labor of the country. There is much for you to

do, and I know it will be well done. A few years ago, I well remember, a trade unionist who spoke of politics in the meeting room would have been called to order immediately. But I am happy to say that time has now passed away, and the people are willing to accept the issues as they present themselves, whether they require political action or not, believing that it is necessary to take whatever steps are required to achieve the required ends. During the last few years more laws have been placed upon the statute books intended for the protection of the laboring class of the community than ever before, and I have no doubt that the course now being pursued by the labor element, supported so nobly by the labor press, will before long command the respect, though it may be through fear, of all capitalists and monopolists. The present condition of some of our workmen is indeed deplorable, and I know of some in my own district to whom a master who would be compelled to clothe and feed them would be considered a blessing. Yet it is said that slavery was a curse, which I do not deny. And now as to legislative action. We have a National Labor Bureau, but as to what benefit it will be to our people we must await the report before we express and opinion. We have also a law for the prevention of the importation of foreign contract labor. This measure, I am sorry to say, was shorn of the best features contained in the original bill in order to have it passed at all, the alternative being presented to us of either witnessing its total destruction or accepting the amendments which were tacked on for the purpose of destroying the power intended when it was introduced. Of course, the failures of all such labor measures is due to the working people themselves in not sending men to the halls of Congress who will represent their interests. There are men in the workshops and foundries of this country who are in every way capable to represent you in Congress, and this Federation will not be doing its duty should it not express its views in regard to this question. And now, gentlemen, hoping that you may be successful in forcing upon Congress legislation that will be a benefit to the workmen of our country, I shall leave you to your deliberations.

Mr. Connolly, of Cincinnati, moved that a vote of thanks be tendered to Representative Foran, which was unanimously adopted.

The Legislative Committee, on motion of Mr. Tomson, were appointed a Committee on Credentials, and the Congress adjourned till 3 P. M.

FIRST DAY—Afternoon Session.

The Congress was called to order by the chairman, J. W. Smith.

The Legislative Committee acting as a Committee on Credentials, reported organizations and delegates representing them as follows:

(See list of Delegates, pages 6 and 7.)

J. W. SMITH, Chairman.

G. EDMONSTON, Secretary.

(Signed.)

W. H. Foster moved that the report be received and the delegates seated, all the credentials being in proper form and per capita tax paid.

Carried.

The chair declared the next business in order to be the nomination and election of officers of the session.

The following names were submitted to the Congress and in turn elected by acclamation:

President—M. D. Connolly.

Vice-President—John S. Kirschner.

Secretaries—Gabriel Edmonston, and W. H. Foster.

Auditors—Charles H. Sharp and Samuel Compers.

Doorkeeper and Messenger—John S. Lyon.

A letter from Richard Powers, of Chicago, President of the Lake Seamen's Union, expressing the warmest sympathy with the objects of the Federation, regretting that he would be unable to be present at the session, and stating that the annual convention of his organization, occurring at this time, would prevent its being represented at the fifth annual session of the Federation, was read and placed on file.

Mrs. Charlotte Smith tendered the loan of two desks and four tables.

Accepted with thanks.

A recess was declared until desks and tables were arranged.

On resuming business a motion offered by W. H. Foster that Mrs. Smith be accorded the privilege of the floor without a vote, was agreed to.

INVITATION TO VISIT THE LABOR BUREAU.

Mr. W. S. Wandby, on behalf of Carrol D. Wright, Commissioner of Labor, extended an invitation to the delegates to visit the office of the Commissioner during their stay in Washington.

Invitation accepted.

The following were appointed as a Committee on Standing Orders:

W. E. Tomson, Samuel S. Green, Samuel Compers, E. W. Oyster, and Charles H. Sharp.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY.

Secretary Edmonston, for the Legislative Committee, submitted the following report, which was read:

Washington, November 28, 1885.

Gentlemen: I have the honor to submit herewith my report as Secretary. In it I have endeavored as briefly as possible to give you a comprehensive idea of the work performed during the year.

We have reason for congratulations over the material advancement of our cause, and encouraged hopes for the future good that may result from continued efforts. The progress made during the past year is important in many respects, chiefly in favorable legislation secured, notably in the action of Congress in enacting a measure intended solely for the benefit of labor.

FOREIGN CONTRACT LABOR.

While the law to prohibit the importation of foreign labor under contract may not affect a very large number of immigrants, or it may be evaded, yet it is, as has been aptly said, a "step in the right direction." In our efforts to secure the passage of this measure by the Senate, Messrs. August Donath and E. W. Oyster, acting as auxiliary Legislative Committee, together with a committee from the local Federation, also a delegation from the Glass Blowers of Pittsburg, Pa., visited many of the Senators, among them Senators Blair, of New Hampshire; George, of Mississippi; Harris, of Tennessee; Morgan, of Alabama; Lamar, of Mississippi; and Brown of Georgia. Most of those visited expressed their sympathy with the object sought to be accomplished, although some of them were of the opinion that the then pending law would not meet the desires of workmen as fully as they expected. Senator Blair heartily favored the measure, and his action in bringing it before the Senate sufficiently records him as a friend of the laboring men of the country. Senator George expressed himself in favor of the objects sought to be accomplished, but was doubtful if the measure proposed would fulfill the expectations of the workmen. The committee, however, was impressed with his entire sympathy and cordial co-operation in all measures that might tend to their material progress. Senator Harris was opposed to the principle of government interference for the benefit of one class at the expense of the other classes. In other words he decried the policy of protecting the manufacturer, while at the same time giving him the privilege of buying labor in the cheapest markets of the world-at-large. Senator Morgan was, he said, a friend of labor not from mere impulse, but from an inborn and inherent instinct. He favored the spirit of the

bill before Congress, but gave several reasons why he thought it to be weak in the letter and calculated to fall short of its object. Senator Lamar, acknowledging he had not examined the bill in detail, expressed himself unqualifiedly in favor of any measure to prohibit immigration under such conditions; home labor should be protected equally with home manufacturers. In reply to an expression indicative of surprise that Southern Senators almost without exception were pronounced in their sympathies in behalf of labor, while workmen credited them with aristocratic ideas, Mr. Lamar explained the position of the Southerner thus: "The conflict between labor and capital was irrepressible; capital seeking to obtain the largest production and the consequent greater profit on the least outlay, on the one hand, and labor seeking to obtain the largest amount of wages for the least expenditure of time and force on the other. In this conflict the old Southern slave-holder, owning the labor of his slaves, naturally sought to advance the price of labor in his own interest." Thus, without any credit to himself from a humanitarian point of view, he sided with labor as against capital. Now that slavery had become a thing of the past, they had themselves become laborers, and what was before inspired by selfish interests was now inspired by self-preservation.

These expressions of opinion are given here as an index to the position of representative men high up in the councils of the nation. It shows, among other things, that the labor problem is no longer confined in its bearings to the employer and employee, but it is now regarded as a question of political economy, in which the people at large are interested; a social problem for philanthropist and savant to puzzle over and solve if possible. It is a matter for congratulation, that the labor problem is being so ably discussed; it augurs well for the success of the movement. We have everything to gain and nothing to lose from a full and free discussion of our position.

REPORT OF THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON LABOR.

On January 26 your Secretary appeared before the House Committee on Printing, to whom was referred the resolution introduced by Senator H. W. Blair, and passed by the Senate, to print 25,000 copies of the Report of testimony taken by the Senate Committee on Education and Labor. The Committee gave your Secretary a patient hearing, and subsequently reported it to the House, through its chairman, Hon. Wm. I. Rodgers, and secured its adoption.

In answer to my communication informing Senators Blair, Call, and George, and Representatives Foran, Hopkins, Lovering and O'Neill of the vote of thanks passed by the fourth annual Congress for their able and earnest support of labor measures, I received replies expressive of sympathy with our movement and a desire to promote such measures as have a tendency to enable the working people to obtain a larger proportion of the comforts and luxuries of life.

STRIKE LAW.

The proposed amendment, Article 9, was submitted to the several organizations for ratification or rejection. The Amalgamated Engineers, by their Executive Board, rejected the amendment, the vote for and against not being reported to me. The few informal returns lead me to suppose the result will be made or

known to you through the delegates at this session.

Blank forms for statistics in regard to strikes were also sent out, but the returns were meagre, affording no basis of information to guide your action in dealing with this subject.

The letter in reply to the French communication was sent in due time.

THE PRINTED PROCEEDINGS.

The sale of reports has not improved over former years, and is still a loss financially. This loss was augmented by an order from New Orleans Trades Assembly for 1,500 copies, which number was printed for them and sent to that city. They were, however, returned by the express company with an additional expense for freight amounting to \$18.00.

THE PROPOSED EIGHT-HOUR RULE.

On June 8, I sent to Fred. Turner, General Secretary of the Knights of Labor, a copy of the eight-hour resolution, requesting the co-operation of that body in establishing the same on May 1, 1886, with the request that he present them to the next General Assembly for their action. Secretary Turner has not informed me of the action taken by the Assembly.

PRIZE ESSAY.

The Committee on Prize Essay has not yet reported. It remains for you to dispose of this matter as in your judgment may seem proper.

PRESIDENT M'CLELLAND'S RESIGNATION.

The following has been received from our late chairman and its contents made known to the members of the Legislative Committee:

New York City, September 17, 1885.

Dear Sir: I hereby tender my resignation of the position at present held by me in the above Federation.

With best wishes, I am

Yours respectfully,

WILLIAM W. McCLELLAND.
Mr. G. Edmonston.

OFFICIAL RETURNS.

P. J. McGuire, General Secretary of the Brotherhood of Carpenters, has sent the following announcement of the official returns of the vote on the proposed amendment to our laws and the eight-hour resolution, which were submitted to ninety-six unions:

Office of General Secretary,
Cleveland, O., November 28, 1885.

Result of general vote:

For Eight hours.....2197 members.
Against Eight Hours..... 310 members.

Total voting.... 2507 members.
For Strike Benefit.....28 Unions.
Against Strike Benefit.....14 Unions.

Total voting.....42 Unions.

The eight-hour circular was voted on by 78 local unions:—69 in the affirmative, 9 in the negative. Several unions abstained from voting. San Francisco (Union 22) declined to vote; though favorable to the eight-hour system, they declare that at the present time they do not wish to commit themselves by voting for against the question. Washington, Chicago

and several other unions failed to send in any return.

A large number of the unions voting in the affirmative sent statements to the effect that while they favor the eight-hour system they doubt the possibility of success for the Carpenters next May, as they fear we are not strongly enough organized to carry the measure. Our California unions, without an exception, are all in favor of reduced hours, and now we have the nine-hour system in operation, but under present circumstances they deem it best "to let well enough alone," as they say, and to endeavor first to establish the nine-hour system more generally. Then again many of our unions are enthusiastic and claim that by active, energetic work on the part of all the unions that we can prepare ourselves and arouse the trade sufficiently to fall into line on May 1, 1886. The vote on the question shows an overwhelming majority of our members in favor of eight hours; but it is more an expression of opinion than an emphatic decision in favor of a general strike next May. So the matter is submitted to our delegates to the Federation of Trades, for their guidance, with the hope that the coming convention of the Federation in Washington, D. C., on December 8, 1885, will use its best judgment and act with due discretion.

Yours fraternally,

P. J. McGUIRE, General Secretary.

In conclusion let me again congratulate you on the brightening prospects in view for the wage worker. The extent of advancement can not be measured by the material gain so well as by the fact that the principles which are nearest and dearest to our hearts have been placed in position to receive the attention of the public at large. The great political parties, that a few years ago courted the approving smile of millionaires and corporation kings alone, treating labor as an auxiliary to be driven into line by the money power, have recognized labor as one of the potent factors through which success must be obtained. The man who champions the rights of the laboring man is no longer a conspirator in the eyes of the law, but a sage and savant in the eye of

the public. In fact it is the great problem of the age,—a theme for discussion in all walks of life, from the school house, with its flippant-tongued boys, to the halls of legislation and cabinet of the nation, with philosophers and statesmen. This agitation all goes to show that the world is in travail to give birth to a new era in which the rights of true manhood are to be respected and elevated to their proper place. To secure this end public sentiment will, I doubt not, prove more potent than legislation. There are, of course, certain things in which the law-making power can be of service. It can reform the law governing corporation franchises, by which labor is made to pay interest on countless millions of fictitious capital known as watered stock; it can prevent, for instance, the Western Union Telegraph Company from requiring its employees to pay dividends on \$80,000,000, with tools worth \$20,000,000. If this plan be followed to its natural conclusion it would reduce the burden on labor more than ten fold. It is by indirect rather than by direct legislation that the law-making power can aid us—by incorporating in charters and franchises terms which shall mete out exact justice to labor and capital alike. When this is done it will no longer be possible for capital to contrast its profit with advantage with the wages paid labor.

G. EDMONSTON, Secretary.

During the reading of the report, the hour for adjournment, (under the rules adopted at the Chicago session,) 5 P. M., arrived.

Mr. Emrich moved that the time be extended until the Secretary's report be disposed of.

Carried.

The reading of the report being concluded, the chair directed its reference to the committee on Report of the Legislative Committee.

By general consent, a motion was entertained and adopted, that the Federation convene at 9 A. M. on Wednesday.

Adjourned.

SECOND DAY—Morning Session.

The Federation was called to order at 9 A. M. by President M. D. Connolly.

The Legislative Committee, in its capacity as a Committee on Credentials, reported having received the credentials from the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, authorizing Gabriel Edmonston, of Washington, and J. W. Pugsley, of Baltimore, to represent that organization.

Report received and delegates seated.

Mr. Sharp moved that the record of attendance of delegates be published in the official report.

Agreed to.

The chair announced the following appointments:

Committee on Resolutions.—J. F. Mahoney, Wm. Graydon, Jr., Henry Emrich, P. F. McAuliffe, Wm. J. Hammond.

Committee on Finance.—Henry Emrich, John S. Kirchner, George G. King, W. H. Foster, J. W. Pugsley.

Committee on Legislative Committee's Report.—Thomas S. Denham, W. E. Tomson, Samuel Gompers, Samuel S. Green, Ernst Bauer.

Mr. Tomson moved that we now take up unfinished business laid over from last session—in the regular order named—that the first

order be the consideration of the strike benefit clause, under the title of organization.

Carried.

STRIKE LAW.

Mr. Emrich offered the following:

RESOLVED, That the time for the vote on strike benefit be extended to March 1, 1886, and the organizations which have not officially reported as yet be called upon by the Secretary, and that the law be enforced on April 1, if properly adopted.

On the roll being called the delegates announced their organizations as being in favor of or opposed to the measure as follows:

For—Baltimore Federation of Labor, *Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, Chicago Trades Assembly, Cigarmakers' International Union, Cincinnati Trades Assembly, German American Typographia, Granite Cutters' National Union.

Against—Tailors' National Union.

No Action—Furniture Workers' International Union, Philadelphia Central Labor Union, Washington Federation of Labor.

The president declared the resolution adopted.

PRIZE ESSAY.

The Committee on Prize Essay on "Trades Unions and Strikes" reported as follows:

To the Officers and Members of the Federated Congress:

Gentlemen: Your committee appointed at the last session of the Congress held in Chicago to award the \$50.00 offered for the best essay on the labor question presented to them, beg leave to report:

That after a careful consideration of the merits of the five essays handed in, they recommend that \$25.00 be awarded to the essay presented by Mr. Edmonston of Washington, and \$25.00 to the one presented by Mr. G. W. Mackie, Milwaukee.

A. C. CAMERON, Chairman.
E. W. OYSTER.
JAS. W. SMITH.

Mr. Gompers offered the following:

WHEREAS, The prize of \$50 offered by the Federation for the best essay upon the question of "Trades Unions and Strikes" was intended to be awarded for an effort worthy of being printed and circulated among the workmen as a text upon these questions; and

WHEREAS, The committee report that the essays submitted do not come up to the standard required as expected, therefore

RESOLVED, That the time for submitting further essays upon these questions be extended until sixty days previous to the next session of this Congress and that the incoming Legislative Committee report to the next session of this Federation and make the award.

Carried.

THE TRIBUNE BOYCOTT.

Mr. Graydon offered the following:

WHEREAS, The managers of the New York Tribune have for years vilified and ostracized organized labor and refused to permit members of labor organizations to work in the Tribune establishment; and

WHEREAS, The managers of the said Tribune have refused to keep their engagements with labor associations, and have deliberately violated written agreements made with labor unions; and

WHEREAS, The managers of the said Tribune have used its composing room as a recruiting station for wage pirates, and a rendezvous from which gangs of free-booters were sent to prey on the wages of the American workmen; and

WHEREAS, The managers of the said Tribune have for years, by word and deed, proved themselves foes of organized labor;

RESOLVED, That we denounce the New York Tribune as an enemy of American workmen.

RESOLVED, That wage-workers should in no way patronize the New York Tribune or those who in any manner contribute to its support.

THE EIGHT-HOUR DAY.

Mr. Emrich submitted the following:

To the Officers and Delegates of the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada:

Gentlemen: We are instructed to offer the following resolutions to the Fifth Congress of the Federation:

WHEREAS, The last Annual Congress of the Federation approved of the opinion expressed by Secretary Frank K. Foster in his annual report that it would be in vain to expect the introduction of the Eight-Hour Rule through legislative measures, and that a united demand to reduce the hours of labor supported by a firmly established and determined organization would be far more effective than a thousand laws whose execution depends upon the good will of aspiring politicians or syco-phantic department officials:

WHEREAS, The Congress has adopted the following:

RESOLVED, By the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada, that eight hours shall constitute a legal day's labor from and after May 1, 1886, and that we recommend to labor organizations throughout this jurisdiction that they so direct their laws as to conform to this resolution by the time named;

WHEREAS, This resolution, and the views upon which it is based, namely; That the workmen in their endeavor to reform the prevailing economic conditions must rely upon themselves and their own power exclusively—have found an echo in the hearts of all those organized workmen of this country who are fighting for a principle and are willing to make sacrifices in order to secure an improvement of the condition of themselves and their fellow-workers, and as there is in many parts of this country, a strong movement going on for the purpose of carrying out this resolution;

WHEREAS, It is a well-known truism that the success of workmen contending against

capitalistic oppression, is due to their policy of concentrating their forces whenever they desire to gain a point;

WHEREAS, The workmen of this country interested in the reduction of the hours of labor are considering the Federation of trades and labor unions as a medium through which that concentration of forces can be accomplished, and to which belongs the leadership in this movement; and

WHEREAS, The Federation has taken upon itself a great responsibility in regard to the movement inaugurated by this organization, as a failure of the same would be detrimental to all organizations and would throw back the movement for the reduction of the hours of labor for many years to come; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Committee be hereby instructed to again appeal to the workmen of this country for the purpose of pointing out to them the necessity of them acting on their own account, and to call upon them to unite the different trades in their respective cities that they may be able to more thoroughly assist each other morally and financially;

RESOLVED, That all organizations under the jurisdiction of the Federation be called upon to report to the Legislative Committee on or before March 1, 1886, whether or not they have resolved to introduce the eight-hour workday; and if so, what steps they have taken in that respect, how they are organized throughout the country, etc.; whereupon the Legislative Committee shall request all of those organizations having not yet determined to join in introducing the reduction of the hours of labor to assist such organizations with all the power at their command; provided, that,

together with the reduction of the hours of labor, they do not ask for an increase of wages;

RESOLVED, That all organizations intending to reduce the hours of labor on May 1st, shall give an opportunity to the respective manufacturers and employers to give their consent to that effect; the contents of the said document to be prepared by the Legislative Committee, and the same to be forwarded to all organizations.

Respectfully submitted,

H. EMRICH,
E. BAUER.

Delegates of the International Furniture Workers' Union of America.

Mr. Foster moved that the consideration of these resolutions be made a special order for Thursday morning, immediately after the reading of the minutes.

Agreed to.

Mr. Kirchner moved to amend the hour of meeting by striking out 10 A. M. and inserting 9 A. M.

Carried.

Mr. Gompers moved to further amend by striking out 12:30 and inserting noon, substituting 2 P. M. for 1:30 and 6 P. M. for 5 P. M.

Carried.

The hour of 12 o'clock having arrived, the Chair declared an adjournment until 2 P. M.

SECOND DAY—Afternoon Session.

The Federation was called to order at 2 P. M. by President Connolly.

The roll was called, all delegates being recorded present.

The minutes of the morning session were read and approved.

A motion prevailed that all resolutions be referred without debate to the proper committees.

On motion of Mr. Emrich, delegates were requested to hand in all resolutions by noon on Thursday.

Resolutions were read and referred to the Committee on Resolutions as follows:

By Mr. Kirchner:

WHEREAS, It has come to the knowledge of this Federation that the popular and favorite weapon of organized labor (the boycott) has, in many cases, been grossly abused and prostituted by unscrupulous and designing persons connected with some of the organizations in this country; and

WHEREAS, Such action might endanger the usefulness and effectiveness of an otherwise perfectly honorable, legitimate, and powerful weapon with which the toilers can compel their oppressors to make amends and concessions to the rightful demands of organized labor; and

WHEREAS, Some organizations have resorted to the boycott upon every frivolous, trivial, or imaginary grievance, without first giving the subject that attention and thorough investigation which the justice and gravity of the question so necessarily requires; and

WHEREAS, Rival factions of workmen have actually been known to have boycotted the goods of firms that employ none but union workmen and pay the highest rate of wages in their line of manufactures; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Federation of labor do discountenance such practices in the future, and recommend to all organizations of workmen the necessity of providing the proper safeguards in order to prevent its repetition; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Federation is thus impelled from the desire to avoid having odium cast upon the honest and just efforts of workmen in bringing to terms unreasonable and tyrannous employers.

By Messrs. Miller and Gompers:

WHEREAS, The government of Switzerland has proposed an international law for the regulation of the hours of labor of the working people, the regulation of female and child labor and factory inspection and regulation, and other measures tending toward the amelioration of the condition of the laborers of the world;

RESOLVED, That we urge upon the Congress of the United States the earnest consideration of this important subject with the view of a conference of representatives of the civilized nations to accomplish the results above described and so much desired.

By Mr. Tomson:

WHEREAS, The Organized Trade and Labor Unions of North America are in need of an international journal of their own to promulgate their views on all labor matters, and also to publish their official business, therefore

RESOLVED, That a committee of five be appointed by this Congress to formulate a plan whereby such journal may be published, said committee to report to Executive Committee of Federation as soon as they in their judgment think a suitable plan has been perfected, providing, they shall report before the assembling of the next Congress.

By Mr. Gompers:

RESOLVED, That this Federation designate two of the labor papers published in the United

States and declare and recognize the same as the official organs of this Federation.

By Mrs. Smith, denouncing the heads of departments for discharging a large number of soldiers' widows from the employment as towel washers and giving the work out by contract, these contractors again sub-contracting to people who paid starvation rates.

The following, by Mr. Kirchner, was referred to the Finance Committee:

RESOLVED, That the Committee on Finance take into consideration the advisability of levying a tax of 10 cents per member for unions represented in the Federation, in order to secure a more effective organization; such tax to be paid within six months.

A motion by Mr. Kirchner, seconded by Mr. Miller, that the Federation take a recess until 4:30 P. M. in order to visit the office of Commissioner Carrol D. Wright, was adopted.

On resuming business at 4:30 P. M. the Federation went into executive session, and so continued until 6 P. M., when the chair declared an adjournment until Thursday at 9 A. M.

THIRD DAY—Morning Session.

President Connolly called the Federation to order at 9 A. M.

The roll was called and all delegates reported present.

The minutes of the Wednesday afternoon session were read and approved.

THE EIGHT-HOUR DAY.

The eight-hour resolution submitted by the delegation from the International Furniture Workers' Union, being the special order, was taken up and discussed at great length.

The following amendment offered by Mr. Edmonston, was adopted:

We recommend to all labor organizations a thorough canvass in their respective trades for the purpose of securing the co-operation of as many as possible to effect this object.

A further amendment by Mr. Gompers, was also agreed to as follows:

RESOLVED, That the trades and labor unions be and they are hereby requested to forward to the Secretary of the Legislative Committee, on the evening of the 1st of May, 1886, or as soon thereafter as possible, what results have been attained in the establishment of the eight-hour law.

After some debate on the resolution as amended, on motion of Mr. Oyster the resolu-

tion was again referred, with the amendments, to the Committee on Resolutions.

The hour of noon having arrived, the chair declared the Federation adjourned until 2 P. M.

ADDRESS BY CONGRESSMAN COLE.

During recess, Hon. Wm. H. Cole, Congressman from the Third District of Maryland, addressed the Federation, expressing the warmest sympathy with the Trades Union movement and his readiness at all times to introduce legislation desired by labor organizations. A vote of thanks was tendered to Mr. Cole, for the sentiments he had given expression to.

Afternoon Session.

At 2 P. M. President Connolly called the Federation to order.

The roll was called and all delegates recorded present.

The reading of the minutes of the morning session was dispensed with.

The Committee on Resolutions reported as follows:

To the Officers and Delegates of the Federation, etc.:

Your Committee on Resolutions beg leave to offer the following report:

1. On the resolution offered by Mr. A. C. Cameron at last Congress and referred to your committee, we find that the first part of the resolution (which reads: "That the best method to secure the organization and unification of labor on a sound financial basis,") is covered by the action taken by the Federation toward enforcing Article 9 of the Constitution. In regard to the adoption and enforcement of an apprenticeship system, and the substitution of arbitration for strikes, we recommend that the delegates report what action their organizations have taken in the matter.

2. On the resolution of Messrs. Miller and Gompers in regard to the proposition from the Government of Switzerland for international regulation of the hours of labor, factory inspection, etc., we recommend that it be adopted and presented to Congress.

3. We recommend the adoption of the resolution of Mr. Tomson, having in view the establishment of an official journal.

4. On the resolution of Mr. Gompers to designate two labor papers as official organs of the Federation, we recommend that until the Federation has established a paper of its own the Associated Labor Press be the organ of the Federation.

5. The resolution regarding Chinese labor, offered by Mrs. Smith, we report back without recommendation.

Respectfully submitted,
J. F. MAHONEY, Chairman,
P. F. McAULIFFE,
WM. GRAYDON, Jr.,
H. EMRICH, Secretary.

On motion of Mr. Kirchner, the report was taken up for consideration *seriatim*.

The recommendations of the Committee, numbered one, two and three, were concurred in.

The fourth recommendation was amended, on motion of Mr. Gompers, by adding the *Pittsburg Labor Tribune* to the list, and adopted as amended.

Mr. Foster moved that the resolution presented by Mrs. Smith, and reported back by the Committee without recommendation, be adopted. Mr. Tomson seconded the motion.

After some discussion, participated in by Mr. Oyster, Mrs. Smith and Mr. Denham, a motion prevailed to suspend the rules and refer the resolution to the Committee on Standing Orders.

A supplemental report of the Committee on Resolutions was presented, as follows:

Your committee recommend the adoption of the eight-hour resolution presented by the Furniture Workers' Delegation, with the amendments of Messrs. Edmonston and Gompers.

J. F. MAHONEY, Chairman,
P. F. McAULIFFE,
W. J. GRAYDON, Jr.,
H. EMRICH, Secretary.

The report was adopted.

The Federation then went into executive session.

On the session again being declared upon Mr. Edmonston offered the following:

(See Constitution, Article VI, Section 1, second sentence.)

Referred to Committee on Standing Orders.

ARBITRATION BOARDS—APPRENTICES.

Reports were called for as to the steps taken by the organizations connected with the Federation on the substitution of arbitration for strikes and the establishment of rules providing for the proper education of apprentices.

Baltimore Federation of Labor.—In favor of both measures, although so far the enactment of a uniform apprentice law had not been secured.

Chicago Trades Assembly.—Had sought to have an apprentice law enacted, but so far had not succeeded. Arbitration in disputes was always offered by the Assembly, and had in many cases adjusted difficulties and avoided strikes.

Cigarmakers' International Union.—Have a law in the constitution making the effort to arbitrate obligatory before any strike can be declared. A system of apprenticeship was adopted wherever possible.

Cincinnati Trades Assembly.—No action had been taken as to furthering either measure, which was mainly due to dearth of employment in Cincinnati during the past year.

Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners.—Arbitration always resorted to before any other steps are considered.

Furniture Workers' International Union.—Committed to arbitration, which had in many cases been successful. Hardly any apprentice system possible in the trade. The union opposed members acting as sub-contractors.

German-American Typographers.—Apprentice rule in constitution. Arbitration in their case had not been successful.

Granite Cutters' National Union.—Only a few branches so far had established an apprentice rule. Arbitration always favored and attempted before other steps were resorted to.

International Typographical Union.—Apprentice rule in force. Arbitration favored.

Philadelphia Central Labor Union.—Arbitration favored. No general apprentice rule adopted.

Tailors' National Union.—Stringent arbitration rule obligatory on branches. No apprentice rule.

Washington Federation of Labor.—Committed to arbitration first. Apprentice law favored.

INVITATION TO MASS MEETING.

Mr. Oyster tendered an invitation to a mass meeting to be held the same evening under the auspices of the Washington Federation of Labor, to be preceded by a street parade, which was accepted.

Mr. Emrich asked permission to use the name of the Federation in calling a meeting of cabinet makers in Washington with the object of forming them into a union. Granted.

The Secretary stated that a number of resolutions were on the desk, and asked if he should read them.

A motion prevailed referring them without reading to the Committee on Resolutions.

On account of the non-arrival of Mr. Hammond, his name was ordered stricken from the Committee on Resolutions and that of Mr. Kirchner substituted.

Mr. Bauer stated that urgent business called him home, and asked to be excused from attending further sessions of the Federation, which was done.

The Chair appointed Mr. Miller to serve on the Committee on Legislative Committee's Report in place of Mr. Bauer.

Adjourned to meet at 9 A. M. on Friday.

FOURTH DAY.—Morning Session.

At 9 A. M. President Connolly called the Federation to order.

The roll was called and all delegates recorded present.

A motion was then adopted to take a recess until 11 A. M. in order to give committees time to prepare their reports.

At 11 A. M. the delegates were called to order, and the minutes of Thursday were read and confirmed.

The Committee on Resolutions reported as follows:

We recommend for adoption the following resolutions:

1. By Mr. Kirchner (introduced on Wednesday), against the abuse of the boycott.

2. By Messrs. Kirchner, Gompers, and Mahoney:

WHEREAS, The Cigar Makers' International Union of America have a label to designate the product of the members of said organization, which is a guarantee that the cigars are made by honest, capable workmen, seeking to counteract the evil effects resulting from the competition of coolie, prison or tenement house cigar manufacturing; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Federation endorse the Cigarmakers' International Union label as the best means of assisting the efforts of cigarmakers in ameliorating their condition, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Committee of this Federation issue a circular letter to all organizations of labor calling upon them to render any assistance that lies in their power in propagating and extending the influence of said union label, and requesting organized labor and its sympathizers to smoke no cigars that do not bear the union label.

3. By Mr. Foster:

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Committee of this Federation be directed to prepare a measure, and urge its passage through Congress, declaring illegal the armed organization

known as Pinkerton's Preventive Patrol, or any body of men formed to act as spies and thugs for corporate monopolies with the extraordinary privilege of moving about from one State to another in plying their nefarious trade of overawing peaceful laborers into submission to degrading conditions of servitude.

4. By Mr. Foster:

WHEREAS, Police Judge Snell, of Washington, has placed himself on record as being bitterly hostile to trades unions, having expressed himself in violent language towards labor unions when a suit was being tried before him involving the right of unions to employ pickets during strikes; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this perversion of a high and honorable position publicly indulged in should be regarded as a just cause for his removal from office, and that the Legislative Committee endeavor to impress the same upon the attention of the President of the United States, in order to secure the suspension of Judge Snell.

5. By your committee, as a substitute for the one presented by the delegation from the Baltimore Federation of labor:

RESOLVED, That we request all organizations under the jurisdiction of this Federation to indorse the hand-made cans which bear the trade mark of the Canmakers' Mutual Protective Association.

6. By Messrs. McAuliffe and Foster, in reference to abolishing the contract system on National and State work:

7. By Mr. Gompers:

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Committee be instructed and are hereby authorized to send a delegate to attend the conventions of the National and International Unions for the purpose of urging and inviting said organizations to send delegates.

8. By Mr. Edmonston:

RESOLVED, That the incoming Legislative Committee use its efforts to induce the Presi-

dent to enforce the eight-hour law by proclamation on or before May 1, 1886.

9. By Mr. McAuliffe:

RESOLVED That in the case of a general boycott by any organization represented in this Federation, all of the facts in relation to said boycott be communicated to the Legislative Committee and in case of approval the Legislative Committee shall inform and urgently request all organizations represented in this Federation to support said boycott.

J. F. MAHONEY, Chairman,
P. F. McAULIFFE,
JOHN S. KIRCHNER,
H. EMRICH, Secretary.

During the reading of the report the hour for adjournment arrived, and a motion prevailed extending the time to 1 P. M.

Mr. Emrich explained that a great many members of his Union took sides with the Cigarmakers' Progressive Union and believed it had not been fairly dealt with by the Cigarmakers' International Union, in the negotiations for consolidation. These men preferred the label of the former Union, and he, as representing his organization at large, wished

it to be distinctly understood that in signing the report and concurring in its second recommendation, he did so with the full expectation that the proposed consolidation of the two Unions of cigarmakers would, in the near future, be an accomplished fact.

As a substitute for No. 6 of the Committee's report, Mr. Gompers offered the resolution of Mrs. Smith, as amended by the Committee on Standing Orders.

A motion was adopted referring the substitute back to the Committee on Resolutions, with instructions to consolidate its substance in their recommendation.

The report of the Committee on Resolutions, as thus amended, was adopted, *seriatim*, and as a whole.

Mr. Tomson read a proposed law, providing for the establishment of a Board of Arbitration.

Referred to Committee on Standing Orders.

Adjourned at 1 P. M.

FOURTH DAY—Afternoon Session.

At 2 P. M. President Connolly called the Federation to order.

Roll call and all delegates recorded present. Minutes of morning session read and approved.

The Committee on Finance offered the following report:

Washington, D. C., December 11, 1885.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Federation of Trades and Labor Union:

Gentlemen: Your Committee on Finance to whom has been referred the resolution offered by Representative Kirchner, report that they have agreed to make the following recommendation:

Inasmuch as the past experience of the Federation has clearly shown the necessity for providing its officers with more means with which to carry on the work entrusted to them, we deem it of the utmost importance that a sufficient amount of money be raised so as to enable the officers of this body to increase the usefulness and power of the Federation, and in this spirit we recommend that this Federation levy a special tax of ten cents per member upon the membership of the various organizations now under the jurisdiction of the Federation; such tax to be forwarded to the Secretary of the Legislative Committee within the next three months; we further recommend that the Secretary of the Legislative Committee be instructed to issue a circular letter to such organizations as are not now represented, appealing to them to render such voluntary finan-

cial assistance as they may feel able or disposed to give.

Signed by the Committee,
JNO. S. KIRCHNER,
W. H. FOSTER,
H. EMRICH,
G. G. KING.

A motion to amend by striking out "ten cents" and inserting "five cents," was adopted.

Mr. Sharp moved and Mr. Gompers seconded that the substance of the report be submitted to the unions represented for ratification.

Carried.

Mr. Mahoney moved to reconsider the vote just taken.

Carried.

Mr. Gompers moved to amend the report by striking out the recommendations of the committee and inserting:

That the Legislative Committee issue an appeal to all labor organizations to pay into this Federation such sums as they can afford, to carry out the objects of this body.

The amendment was agreed to, and the report adopted as amended.

In accordance with instructions to consolidate the substance of the resolution of Messrs. McAuliffe and Foster on the contract system with that of the one offered by the Committee

on Standing Orders, the Committee on Resolutions submitted the following:

WHEREAS, The giving out of public work for the General and State Governments opens the door to contract convict labor and Chinese competition and is an encouragement to dishonest and avaricious contractors, who habitually furnish inferior material and slighted workmanship (a notable instance of which is seen in the recent award to Brainerd & Co., the Joliet Penitentiary labor contractors for the new postoffice at Peoria, Ill., and also in the manner in which the work of the State Capitol in Austin, Texas, is being done), and is also unjust to honest employers of labor, who pay living wages, as well as a fraud on mechanics, who are often deprived, through the contract system, of their rights under the national Eight-Hour law; therefore,

RESOLVED, That this Federation denounce the convict labor contract system as pernicious and opposed to the interests of the working people of this country; and further

RESOLVED, That we deem it incumbent on the organizations here represented to oppose any candidate for National or State Legislative honors who will not pledge himself to the abolition of a system that has a tendency to drag honest labor to a convict's cell; also

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Committee be directed to draft a bill and have it introduced in the United States Congress, providing that all Government work shall be done under competent superintendents, and that no further contracts for such work shall hereafter be entered into; and it shall be the duty of said committee to endeavor to have a similar bill passed by the various State Legislatures.

Adopted.

The same committee reported favorably on the following, offered by Mr. Foster:

WHEREAS, The *Philadelphia Press* has since November, 1881, been antagonizing Typographical Union No. 2, and organized labor in general, and utilizing every opportunity which presented itself by which to deprecate the labor movement; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada request all organizations represented, and the organized workmen generally, to boycott the *Philadelphia Press* and all other journals which oppose the workingmen of the land.

Adopted.

Mr. Tomson offered the following:

RESOLVED, That the members of the Legislative Committee be instructed to use their best efforts to organize the wood-working machine hands in their various localities.

Mr. Emrich hoped it was not the intention to interfere with the Furniture-Worker's International Union, which included wood-working machine hands in its membership.

Mr. Tomson explained that he had special reference to men employed on machinery for turning out sashes, doors, blinds, wagons, etc., and had no desire to include those engaged on furniture work.

The resolution was adopted.

A report from the Committee on Standing Orders favored an amendment to the Constitution, offered by Mr. Kirchner, providing for raising funds by means of assessments.

The amendment was adopted and, on motion of Mr. Kirchner, inserted as Article VII, Section 3, but to be submitted to the Unions for ratification.

A further amendment, offered by Mr. Edmonston, was reported favorably by the same committee and adopted. (See Article VI, Section 1, second sentence.)

The same committee presented a report amending the Platform, Constitution, Standing Orders and Rules, which was considered *seriatim*, and the amendments inserted in the places indicated in the order of their adoption.

The report of the Committee on Standing Orders was then adopted as a whole.

A supplemental report was submitted by the same committee, recommending the following for concurrence of the Federation:

WHEREAS, The law restricting Chinese immigration has been evaded, violated, and made to an extent inoperative, and, while we do not indorse the action of certain individuals who have violated the laws of our country in attempting the forcible expulsion of said Chinese, we do most earnestly protest against the further introduction of a class of immigrants who have no sympathy with our government, civilization or social customs; therefore,

RESOLVED, That the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada are in full accord with the workingmen of the Pacific coast in the fierce struggle for existence to which they are subjected by reason of competition with Chinese, who have spread over that section, and are a standing menace to the prosperity and happiness of the workingmen of the country and peace of the nation, and demand the rigid enforcement of the laws now on the statute books to prohibit Chinese immigration, and the passage of such further laws by Congress as may be necessary to effectually prevent such immigration.

Adopted.

Mr. Tomson offered an amendment to the Constitution providing for a Board of Arbitration and Boycotting.

Mr. Kirchner moved that the amendment be adopted, provided a majority vote of the unions represented ratify the same. (See Article X.) Carried.

The following resolution, presented by Messrs. Emrich and Bauer, was reported from the Committee on Resolutions with a recommendation that it be not concurred in:

WHEREAS, Experience teaches that from men who in any manner are connected with capitalistic parties and interest, laws in favor of the working class cannot be expected:

WHEREAS, We will never succeed in electing executive officers to carry out such laws unless the workmen sever all connection with

the present political parties by refusing to vote for their candidates, and thereby create a party which will support and carry out all of our demands;

WHEREAS, It is unworthy of an intelligent working class whose constituting elements know what is necessary for their own well-being to elect legislators who may pledge themselves to support a few of the demands of labor and even keep such pledges, but by supporting, on the other hand, measures intended for the sole benefit of capitalists and monopolists, to whom they are likewise under obligations, again destroy the little good created by their action in favoring labor legislation; be it

RESOLVED, That Article XIV of our Platform be amended as follows:

We recommend all trades and labor organizations to secure proper representation in all legislative bodies and the election of executive officers who are willing to enforce all laws made for the interest of the working people by forming a strict workingmen's party, and electing only such candidates who are identified with the labor movement and not affiliated with the capitalistic parties.

The committee's recommendation was adopted, Mr. Emrich dissenting.

Offered by Mr. Gompers:

RESOLVED, That we call upon and advise the working women of the country to protect themselves by organizing into unions of their respective trades or callings, and the Legislative Committee are hereby authorized to render such assistance whenever opportunity offers.

Adopted.

Mr. Kirchner moved to amend Section 3 of the Platform by inserting a demand for the education of children up to their fourteenth year, and the prohibition of their employment in factories, workshops, mills or mines, until they have reached that age.

Carried.

Submitted by Mr. Tomson:

WHEREAS, There is now pending in the United States Senate a resolution introduced by Senator Van Wyck, of Nebraska, providing for the restricting of alien land ownership to one section of land; therefore,

RESOLVED, That we indorse the resolution and favor the abolition of land monopoly by both aliens and citizens.

Adopted.

Reported of Committee on Legislative Committee's report:

Washington, December 11, 1885.

Your Committee on the Report of the Legislative Committee begs leave to report as follows:

We recommend the printing of the report as offered, with the omission of all replies received from the several Congressmen, and the omission of the whole matter in regard to the plug tobacco firm.

Respectfully submitted,

THOMAS M. DENHAM,
HUGO A. MILLER,
WM. E. TOMSON,
SAMUEL GOMPERS,
S. S. GREEN.

Adopted.

Mr. Gompers moved that the rules be suspended and an extra session held, commencing at 7 P. M.

Carried.

The Federation went into executive session.

On resuming open business the Federation, on motion of Mr. Oyster, fixed 7:30 P. M. as the time for nomination and election of officers and choice of next place of meeting.

At 6 P. M. the Federation adjourned.

Extra Session.

The Federation was called to order at 7 P. M., all delegates being present except Mr. Bauer, excused.

On a motion by Mr. Tomson, the Secretary was directed to send to the United States Senate and House of Representatives copies of the resolution in opposition to aliens acquiring land in this country.

Submitted by Mr. Tomson:

RESOLVED, That we extend our thanks to the Washington press for the impartial manner in which it reported the proceedings of our sessions, especially to the *Post* for having a representative constantly in attendance.

Adopted.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS.

President Connolly announced that the time had arrived for the nomination and election of officers to serve as a Legislative Committee for the ensuing year.

Messrs. Emrich and McAuliffe were appointed as Tellers.

SECRETARY.

Mr. Edmonston submitted the name of W. H. Foster, of Philadelphia.

The nomination was seconded by Mr. Green and supported by Mr. Smith.

Nominations closed, and, there being no opposition, a motion was passed directing Secretary Edmonston to cast the ballot of the Federation for the candidate.

President Connolly, on the announcement of the ballot by the tellers, declared W. H. Foster unanimously elected.

PRESIDENT.

Mr. Smith placed in nomination Samuel Gompers, of New York.

Mr. Graydon nominated Samuel S. Green, of Louisville, Ky.

Nominations were closed, and the Federation proceeded to ballot with the following result:

Number of votes cast.....	16
Mr. Gompers received.....	12
Mr. Green received.....	4

Mr. Gompers, having received a majority of all the votes cast, was declared elected, and on motion of Mr. Green the election was made unanimous.

FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT.

Mr. King nominated W. E. Tomson, of Chicago.

Mr. Miller submitted the name of Samuel S. Green, of Louisville, Ky.

Nominations were closed and a ballot taken, resulting as follows:

Number of votes cast.....	15
Mr. Green received.....	9
Mr. Tomson received.....	6

Mr. Green, having received a majority of all the votes cast, was declared elected, and on motion of Mr. Tomson the election was made unanimous.

SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT.

Mr. Gompers nominated W. E. Tomson, of Chicago.

Nominations closed and Secretary directed to cast the ballot.

Mr. Tomson was declared elected unanimously.

THIRD VICE-PRESIDENT.

Mr. Smith nominated P. F. McAuliffe, of Washington, D. C.

Nominations closed, and the ballot was cast by the Secretary.

Mr. McAuliffe was declared unanimously elected.

FOURTH VICE-PRESIDENT.

Mr. Emrich nominated Hugo A. Miller, of the Town of Union, N. J.

Nominations closed, and the Secretary cast the ballot.

Mr. Miller was declared unanimously elected.

FIFTH VICE-PRESIDENT.

Mr. Tomson nominated George G. King, of Baltimore, Md.

Nominations closed, and the ballot was cast by the Secretary.

Mr. King was declared unanimously elected.

SIXTH VICE-PRESIDENT.

Mr. Gompers presented the name of Henry Emrich, of New York.

Nominations closed, and the Secretary cast the ballot.

Mr. Emrich was declared elected unanimously.

TREASURER.

M. D. Connolly, of Cincinnati, was placed in nomination by Mr. Oyster.

Gabriel Edmonston, of Washington, D. C., was nominated by Mr. Tomson. The nomination was seconded by Mr. Kirchner.

Mr. Green supported the nomination of Mr. Connolly.

Nominations closed, and the Federation proceeded to ballot.

President Connolly called Vice-President Kirchner to the chair.

Number of votes cast.....	14
Mr. Edmonston received.....	8
Mr. Connolly received.....	6

Mr. Edmonston, having received a majority of all the votes cast, was declared elected.

Mr. Connolly moved to make the choice of Mr. Edmonston unanimous, but one delegate dissented and the motion was not put.

NEXT PLACE OF MEETING.

Mr. Rye nominated Baltimore, Md.

Mr. Kirchner nominated St. Louis, Mo.

Mr. Green nominated Louisville, Ky.

Mr. Tomson nominated Chicago, Ill.

Mr. Oyster nominated Cincinnati, O.

Nominations closed, and the Federation proceeded to ballot, with the following result:

First ballot:	
Number of votes cast.....	16
Necessary to a choice.....	9

Baltimore received.....	5
St. Louis received.....	4
Cincinnati received.....	3
Louisville received.....	3
Chicago received.....	1

Second ballot:	
Number of votes cast.....	15
Necessary to a choice.....	8

St. Louis received.....	7
Baltimore received.....	3
Cincinnati received.....	3
Louisville received.....	2

Third ballot:	
Number of votes cast.....	16
Necessary to a choice.....	9

St. Louis received.....	9
Cincinnati received.....	4
Baltimore received.....	3

St. Louis, having received a majority of all the votes cast, was declared elected as the next place of meeting.

THE GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE.

Mr. Green offered the following:

WHEREAS, A system of employment for journeymen printers exists in the Government Printing Office which is destructive of independence; and whereas the only system of employment which should exist is that based on mechanical ability; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Congress earnestly protests against the system of employment based upon political opinion, and that the attention of the President be called to the matter, so that the Superintendent of Public Printing be governed by the principles of the competency of the mechanic as the condition of employment.

Adopted.

President Connolly asked to be excused from further attendance at the session, as he desired to start for Cincinnati by a train which would leave in half an hour.

Permission to withdraw was granted.

A vote of thanks to the retiring President, offered by Mr. Gompers, was unanimously adopted, to which a suitable reply was made by Mr. Connolly.

Mr. Sharp offered the following:

RESOLVED, That the thanks of the Federation are due and are hereby tendered to the retiring Legislative Committee for their services the past year.

Adopted.

The Auditors submitted the following report:

To the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the U. S. and Canada:

Co-Workers: Your Audit Committee beg leave to report that they have examined the books and papers of the Secretary and Treasurer, and find them correct. We recommend that the Secretary of the Legislative Committee be directed to correspond with the Trades Assembly of New Orleans, calling the attention of that body to the circumstances under which an expenditure of ninety-three dollars was made by reason of their order for 1,000 copies of the proceedings which were specially printed for them, and the express charges for the same to and from their city.

Respectfully,
SAMUEL GOMPERS,
CHAS. H. SHARP,

Auditors.

Adopted.

A motion was offered relegating to the Legislative Committee the appointment of a Committee of Five on Official Journal.

Vice-President Kirchner called Mr. Gompers to the chair.

Report of Finance Committee:

Your Committee on Finance report the following as the expenses of the Federation for this session, and would most respectfully request the necessary appropriation of money to pay the same:

For expressage on tables loaned by Mrs. C. Smith	\$ 1 40
For rent of Grand Army Hall	12 00
To John Lyons for services as door-keeper	13 00
To G. Edmonston for loss of time as Secretary	72 16
To J. W. Smith for railroad fare	50 00
To J. W. Smith for per diem and incidentals	50 00
Total expenses	\$198 56

Signed by committee.

JOHN S. KIRCHNER,
H. EMRICH,
W. H. FOSTER.

Adopted.

Mr. Kirchner stated that in the Auditor's report some of the items of expenditure on account of the present session were omitted, and moved that they be directed to make a supplemental report including the same.

Carried.

A brief recess was declared, in order to give the Auditors time to report.

The Federation was called to order by Chairman Gompers.

The Auditors reported having, as directed, included all the accounts up to the close of the present session in their report.

Report adopted as amended.

Mr. Miller moved that the fifth annual Congress of the Federation adjourn *sine die*.
Lost.

Mr. Oyster submitted the following:

RESOLVED, That the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada, earnestly request the Speaker of the United States House of Representatives, in making up the Committee on Labor, to place thereon such gentlemen as organized labor has confidence in, and respectfully recommend the following as eminently satisfactory.

COMMITTEE ON LABOR. (House of Representatives.)

M. A. Foran, of Ohio, Chairman.
General J. B. Weaver, of Iowa.
W. H. Crain, of Texas.
H. B. Lovering, of Massachusetts.
J. J. O'Neill, of Missouri.
M. A. Haynes, of New Hampshire.
T. Tarsney, of Michigan.
R. Plumb, of Illinois.
F. Lawler, of Illinois.
W. H. Cole, of Maryland.
J. M. Farquhar, of New York.
W. H. Wade, of Missouri.
R. T. Bennett, of North Carolina.
F. Bound, of Pennsylvania.

Mr. Kirchner moved that the Washington Federation of Labor be authorized to act in the name of this Federation in asking Speaker Carlisle to make the appointments urged in the resolution.

Yeas.—Kirchner, Foster, Edmonston, Tomson, Mahoney, McAuliffe, Sharp, Oyster—8.

Nays.—Emrich, Miller—2.

Motion declared adopted.

On motion of Messrs. Kirchner and Emrich the fifth annual Congress of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada adjourned *sine die*.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT.

1884. INCOME.

Oct. 10.	Balance at close of Session of 1884	\$188 04
	By sale of Reports, including expressage and postage:	
Dec. 15.	Washington Federation of Labor, 50 copies	2 50
Dec. 19.	Lake Seamen's Union, 100	5 00
Dec. 31.	Union No. 1, B. of C. and J., Washington, 50	2 50
1885.		
Jan. 1.	P. J. McGuire, General Secretary B. of C. and J., 100	5 00
Jan. 5.	W. H. Foster, Philadelphia, 20	1 00
Jan. 5.	A. Strasser, President Cigar-makers' International Union, 600	30 00
Jan. 8.	Joseph Wilkerson, Journeymen Tailors, 50	2 50
Jan. 9.	H. Emrich, Furniture Workers' International Union, 50	2 50
Jan. 23.	Typographical Union No. 101, Washington, 500	25 00
Jan. 29.	Chicago Trades Assembly, 100	5 00
April 15.	New York Amalgamated Trades and Labor Union, 50 (freight paid twice)	3 35
April 15.	Cigar-Makers' Union No. 47, Quincy, Ill., 20	1 20
April 17.	Cigar-Makers' Union No. 141, New York, 10	60
May 4.	J. Mureuch, Aurora, Ill., 25	1 50
May 15.	Union No. 76, B. of C. and J., 25	1 50
May 21.	Union No. 66, B. of C. and J., 25	1 50
May 22.	Typographical Union No. 16, Chicago, 100	5 00
May 29.	Union No. 8, B. of C. and J., Philadelphia, 100	5 00
June 9.	Wm. Graydon, Scranton, Pa., 1	7
July 11.	W. G. Biggs, Boston, 100	5 00
July 18.	Mule Spinners' National Union, 50	2 50
July 20.	J. B. Dyer, Secretary Granite Cutters' National Union, 75	3 75
Dec. 8.	Fred Haller, 2	12
Dec. 8.	Overpaid by Robert Howard	67
Dec. 8.	Dues to Federation:	
	International Typographical Union	161 83
	German-American Typographical Union	10 00
	Mule Spinners' National Union	10 00
	Cigar-Makers' International Union	60 00
	Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America	72 16
	Philadelphia Central Labor Union	17 28
	Baltimore Federation of Labor	20 00
	Journymen Tailors' National Union	20 00
	Chicago Trades Assembly	20 00

Granite Cutters' National Union	\$ 20 00
Washington Federation of Labor	20 00
Furniture Workers' International Union	20 00
Cincinnati Trades Assembly	20 00
	\$772 07

1884. EXPENDITURES.

Oct. 4.	Postage stamps, postal cards, paper for letter heads	\$ 10 85
Oct. 4.	Expressage on copying press	3 90
Oct. 15.	Postage stamps	5 00
Oct. 15.	Blank book, copying ink, blotters	64
Dec. 1.	Gray & Clarkson, on account of printing Report	100 00
Dec. 1.	Telegrams, \$2.08, car-fare, 60 cents, in relation to Bill to Prohibit Importation of Foreign Labor Under Contract	2 68
Dec. 13.	Robert Howard, telegraphing to Senators Dawes and Hoar in same connection	1 60
Dec. 23.	Gray & Clarkson, balance of bill for printing Report	58 15
Dec. 23.	Telegrams	36
1885.		
Jan. 7.	Gray & Clarkson, printing letter heads	3 00
Feb. 10.	Expressage on package to New York and return	50
Feb. 10.	Expressage on package to New Orleans and return	18 00
Feb. 10.	Expressage on package to Jersey City	35
Feb. 27.	Gray & Clarkson, printing and postal cards	3 00
Feb. 27.	Circulars (type-writer) and postage stamps	75
May 26.	Gray & Clarkson, printing blanks	5 00
June 1.	Postage stamps	25
June 1.	Gray & Clarkson, printing	6 00
June 1.	Mailing circulars, Article 9	3 00
Sept. 10.	Gray & Clarkson, notices of Fifth Annual Session	4 00
Sept. 11.	Stamped envelopes	1 17
Sept. 26.	Wrappers, stamps, etc.	3 06
Oct. 6.	J. W. Smith, telegraphing to Senator Cullom	1 60
Oct. 20.	G. Edmonston, office expenses	17 69
Dec. 8.	G. Edmonston, expressage on money package	40
Dec. 8.	Stationery for Convention	1 07
Dec. 8.	Hauling tables for use of delegates	1 40
Dec. 11.	Hall rent	12 00
Dec. 11.	J. Lyon, services as door-keeper	13 00
Dec. 11.	G. Edmonston, services as Secretary during the year	72 16
Dec. 11.	J. W. Smith, car fare	50 00
Dec. 11.	J. W. Smith, per diem and expenses	50 00
	Total expenditure	\$450 58
	Balance in hand at close of Session of 1885	321 49
		\$772 07

1886

Report of the Sixth Annual Session

OF THE

Federation of Organized Trades and Labor
Unions of the United States
and Canada

ALSO THE

Proceedings of the First Annual Convention

OF THE

American Federation
of Labor

Both Conventions Held at
Columbus, Ohio, December 8 to 12
1886

Published by Direction of Both Conventions

CONSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

PREAMBLE.

WHEREAS, A struggle is going on in all the nations of the civilized world, between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between the capitalist and the laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the toiling millions, if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit.

It therefore behooves the representatives of the Trades and Labor Unions of America, in Convention, assembled, to adopt such measures and disseminate such principles among the mechanics and laborers of our country as will permanently unite them, to secure the recognition of the rights to which they are justly entitled.

We therefore declare ourselves in favor of the formation of a thorough Federation, embracing every Trade and Labor Organization in America.

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.—NAME.

Section 1. This association shall be known as "The American Federation of Labor," and shall consist of such Trades and Labor Unions as shall conform to its rules and regulations.

ARTICLE II.—OBJECTS.

Section 1. The objects of this Federation shall be the encouragement and formation of local Trades and Labor Unions, and the closer Federation of such societies through the organization of Central Trades and Labor Unions in every city, and the further combination of such bodies into state, territorial, or provincial organizations, to secure legislation in the interests of the working masses.

Sec. 2. The establishment of National and International Trades Unions, based upon a strict recognition of the autonomy of each trade, and the promotion and advancement of such bodies.

Sec. 3. An American Federation of all National and International Trades Unions, to aid and assist each other; and, furthermore, to secure National Legislation in the interests of the working people, and influence public opinion, by peaceful and legal methods, in favor of Organized Labor.

Sec. 4. To aid and encourage the labor press of America.

ARTICLE III.—CONVENTION.

Section 1. The Convention of the Federation shall be held annually, on the second

Tuesday of December, at such place as the delegates have selected at the preceding Convention.

ARTICLE IV.—REPRESENTATION.

Section 1. The basis of representation in the convention shall be: From National or International Unions, for less than four thousand members, one delegate; four thousand or more, two delegates; eight thousand or more, three delegates; sixteen thousand or more, four delegates; thirty-two thousand or more, five delegates; and so on; and from each Local or District Trades Union, not connected with, or having a National or International head, affiliated with this Federation, one delegate.

Sec. 2. No organization which has seceded from any Local, National or International organization, shall be allowed a representation or recognition in this Federation.

ARTICLE V.—OFFICERS.

Section 1. The Officers of the Federation shall consist of a President, two Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, and a Treasurer, to be elected by the Convention.

Sec. 2. At the opening of the Convention the President shall take the chair and call the Convention to order, and preside until his successor is elected.

Sec. 3. The following Committees, consisting of three members each, shall be appointed by the President: 1st, Credentials; 2d, Rules and Order of Business; 3d, Resolutions; 4th, Finance; 5th, Report of Executive Council.

Sec. 4. Should a vacancy in any office occur between the annual meetings of the Convention, such vacancies shall be filled by the President of the Federation, by and with consent of the Executive Council. When a vacancy occurs in the office of President, the Vice-Presidents shall succeed in their respective order.

Sec. 5. The President and Secretary shall be members of the succeeding Convention in case they are not delegates, but without vote.

ARTICLE VI.—EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

Section 1. The Officers shall be an Executive Council with power to watch legislative measures directly affecting the interests of working people, and to initiate, whenever necessary, such legislative action as the Convention may direct.

Sec. 2. The Executive Council shall use every possible means to organize new National or International Trades Unions, and to organize local Trades Unions and connect them with the Federation, until such time as there are a sufficient number to form a National or International Union, when it shall be the duty

of the President of the Federation to see that such organization is formed.

Sec. 3. While we recognize the right of each trade to manage its own affairs, it shall be the duty of the Executive Council to secure the unification of all labor organizations, so far as to assist each other in any justifiable boycott, and with voluntary financial help in the event of a strike or lock-out, when duly approved by the Executive Council.

Sec. 4. When a strike has been approved by the Executive Council, the particulars of the difficulty, even if it be a lock-out, shall be explained in a circular issued by the President of the Federation to the unions affiliated therewith. It shall then be the duty of all affiliated societies to urge their Local Unions and members to make liberal financial donations in aid of the working people involved.

ARTICLE VII.—REVENUE.

Section 1. The revenue of the Federation shall be derived from International, National, District and Local organizations, which shall pay into the treasury of the Federation a per capita tax of one-half cent per month for each member in good standing, the same to be payable monthly to the Treasurer of the Federation.

Sec. 2. Delegates shall not be entitled to a seat in this Federation, unless the per capita tax of their organization is paid in full.

Sec. 3. Any organization, affiliated with this Federation, not paying its per capita tax on or before the 15th of each month, shall be notified of the fact by the President of the Federation, and if at the end of three months it is still in arrears, it shall be suspended from membership in the Federation, and can only be reinstated by vote of the Convention.

Sec. 4. Each society affiliated with this Federation, shall make a monthly report of its standing and progress to the President of the Federation.

Sec. 5. It shall be the duty of the President to attend to all correspondence, publish a monthly journal, and travel, with consent of the Executive Council, wherever required in the interest of the Federation. His salary shall be \$1,000 per year, payable monthly, with mileage and expenses.

Sec. 6. Whenever the revenue of the Federation shall warrant such action, the Executive Council shall authorize the sending out of Trades Union speakers, from place to place, in the interests of the Federation.

Sec. 7. The funds of the Federation shall be banked monthly by three Trustees, who shall be selected by the Executive Council. The said Trustees shall be residents of the same

city with the Treasurer. No money shall be paid out only in conformity with the rules laid down by the Executive Council.

Sec. 8. It shall be the duty of the Secretary to attend to such business as may be decided by the Executive Council.

Sec. 9. The accounts of the year shall be closed fourteen days prior to the assembling of the Convention, and a balance sheet, duly certified, shall be presented to the same.

Sec. 10. The remuneration for the loss of time by the executive council shall be at the rate of \$3.00 per diem; traveling and incidental expenses to be also defrayed.

ARTICLE VIII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

Section 1. In all questions not covered by this Constitution, the Executive Council shall have power to make rules to govern the same, and shall report accordingly to the Federation.

Sec. 2. Charters for the Federation shall be granted by the President of the Federation, by and with the consent of the Executive Council, to all National and International, and Local bodies affiliated with this Federation.

Sec. 3. Any seven wage workers of good character, and favorable to Trades Unions, and not members of any body affiliated with this Federation, who will subscribe to this Constitution, shall have the power to form a local body, to be known as a "Federal Labor Union," and they shall hold regular meetings for the purpose of strengthening and advancing the Trades Union movement, and shall have the power to make their own rules in conformity with this Constitution, and shall be granted a local charter by the President of this Federation, provided the request for a charter be endorsed by the nearest Local or National Trades Union officials connected with this Federation.

Sec. 4. The charter fee for affiliated bodies shall be \$5.00, payable to the Treasurer of the Federation.

Sec. 5. Where there are one or more Local Unions in any city, belonging to a National or International Union, affiliated with this Federation, it shall be their duty to organize a Trades Assembly or Central Labor Union, or join such body, if already in existence.

ARTICLE IX.—AMENDMENTS.

Section 1. This Constitution can be amended or altered only at a regular session of the Convention, and to do so, it shall require a two-thirds vote of the delegates, and must be ratified within six weeks thereafter, by a majority vote of the members of the societies composing this Federation.

Sec. 2. This Constitution shall go into effect March 1st, 1887.

FEDERATION

OF

Organized Trades and Labor Unions

OF THE

UNITED STATES AND CANADA

1886.

Report of Proceedings. First Day—Morning Session.

Druid Hall,

Columbus, O., December 7, 1886.

The sixth annual Congress of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada, convened at noon on the above date.

Samuel Gompers, of New York City, Chairman of the Legislative Committee, opened the session by introducing Mr. D. P. Boyer, of Columbus, who presented Mr. Grafton Pierce; Mr. Pierce then delivered an address of welcome in the name of the Columbus Trades' Assembly; Mr. S. Gompers responded in behalf of the Federation.

The chair then announced that the Legislative Committee acting as a Committee on Credentials, were ready to receive the credentials of the delegates to the Federation.

The session then adjourned till 3 P. M.

Afternoon Session.

Promptly at 3 P. M., the Congress was called to order, Mr. S. Gompers presiding. The Chairman of the Legislative Committee as a Committee on Credentials, presented a report showing the following delegates entitled to seats in the Congress:

Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.—J. McHenry Ryland, J. Kane, G. Edmonston, P. J. McGuire.

Journeymen Tailors' National Union.—J. W. Smith.

International Furniture Workers' Union.—H. Emrich.

German-American Typographia.—H. A. Miller.

Cigarmakers' International Union of America.—S. Gompers, Jno. S. Kirchner, J. F. Maloney.

International Typographical Union.—J. L. Wright, J. R. Winders, J. R. Scott.

Granite Cutters' National Union.—J. Duncan.

Baltimore Federation of Labor.—C. P. Oyler, S. B. Hasson.

Philadelphia Central Labor Union.—H. B. Kraft.

Chicago Trades' and Labor Assembly.—E. Mulraney.

Essex County, N. J., Trades' Assembly.—J. C. Craigie.

St. Louis Trades' Assembly.—L. Negelie.

Upon motion, the report was adopted, and the delegates seated.

The Chair announced the next order of business to be the election of officers for this, the sixth, session of the Federation.

Mr. J. W. Smith, of the Journeymen Tailors' National Union, and Mr. J. L. Wright, of the International Typographical Union, were placed in nomination for the office of President, with the following result:

Mr. J. L. Wright received 3.

Mr. J. W. Smith received 9.

Mr. Smith having received a majority of all votes cast, was declared elected.

Mr. Wright was then unanimously elected Vice-President.

Mr. J. S. Kirchner, of the Cigarmakers' International Union, was unanimously elected Secretary, and Mr. H. Emrich, Assistant Secretary.

Mr. C. P. Oyler and H. B. Kraft were elected Auditors; Mr. W. E. Tomson, Doorkeeper, and Mr. E. N. Pfeieger, Messenger.

On motion, the Congress resolved to extend the courtesies of the session to the press and members of trade unions.

REPORT OF THE LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE.

The Legislative Committee then presented their report, as follows:

The Legislative Committee of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada, herewith report on the several matters entrusted to them, at the fifth Congress of that body, held in Washington, D. C., December, 1885.

DEATH OF SECRETARY, W. H. FOSTER.

It is with the deepest regret that we announce the death of our late Secretary and brother, W. H. Foster, endeared as he was to us, not only by the ties of friendship, but also by that profound respect which the true man always commands among his fellows.

His devotion to duty, under the trying circumstances of an incurable disease, challenges our admiration for a courage that the shadow of death even could not daunt. Born in England, and educated in that school of Trade Unionism, he naturally, on adopting this country as his permanent home, took an active part in the labor movement, filling the most prominent positions with credit to his craft, and his *Alma Mater*.

The desire to erect a suitable monument to his memory, has been crystallized into the formation of the Foster Memorial Association of Philadelphia; and we would recommend to the friends of labor disposed to contribute to this object to send all donations to E. M. Madden, 607 Walnut street, Philadelphia, Pa.

APPOINTMENT OF MR. J. S. KIRCHNER TO THE OFFICE OF SECRETARY.

In consequence of the vacancy in the office of Secretary, caused by the death of our lamented and efficient Secretary, W. H. Foster, the duty devolved upon the Legislative Committees to fill the same. At the solicitation of several well-known Unionists, and from the fact that the gentleman lived in the same city, and further that that law requires the Secretary to attend this session, and he being a delegate, Mr. John S. Kirchner was appointed.

GROWTH OF TRADES' UNIONS.

It is a source of gratification that we are enabled to report that quite a number National Unions have been organized within the past year, and that others are in the course of formation. That many are not represented here to-day, is only because of the care they exercise and the economy, necessary, making the expenditure at present impractical; it is expressing their sentiments, when we say that they will be with us at our future sessions.

Of the growth of National and International Unions affiliated with the Federation, it need only be said, as will be seen by the per capita paid, that they have increased in membership more than one hundred per cent since 1885.

INCORPORATION OF TRADES' UNIONS.

At the instance of the Legislative Committee, our President, Mr. Compers, in company with Mr. Edmonston, appeared before the House Committee on Labor, and made an argument for the Incorporation of Trades' Unions. The Committee reported the bill favorably, and which subsequently became a law. The law is not what was desired, covering only those

organizations which have, or may remove their headquarters to the District of Columbia, or any of the Territories of the United States; but it recognizes the principle of the lawful character of Trades' Unions, a principle we have been contending for for years.

THE EIGHT-HOUR MOVEMENT.

In reviewing the work done in effecting a reduction in the daily working time of the various bodies of organized workers, your committee is most happy to be able to record a large measure of success to the eight-hour movement, inaugurated by the Federation, not alone in the benefit that accrued to the working people from more leisure time in which to improve their condition, but also in the increased stimulus and impetus given thereby to the entire labor movement. Never before, in the history of the country, was there such a general upheaval noticed among the industrial masses as has been witnessed during the past year. The desire for fewer hours led thousands to affiliate with the organizations existing, besides being the means of organizing large numbers that had hitherto been indifferent to the agitation of the labor question. And while we are not able to record the general adoption of eight hours (with the exception of two or three industries and some of the building trades in some localities), we nevertheless claim that the eight-hour agitation was the means of reducing the daily working time of no less than two hundred thousand workers in industries, working ten hours or more per day, to twelve, ten and nine, respectively. The tremendous advantages thus gained are plainly apparent. The Federation, through its Secretary, in February last, issued circulars to the various organizations, calling upon them to take such steps as were practical, and also urged such as were unable to secure the eight-hour day to assist, as far as possible, such as were engaged in the struggle. The Secretary also submitted to the manufacturers printed copies of an agreement to establish the system in their works; in this way the Federation forced the subject before the public, and while the result is very gratifying, it is also painful to acknowledge that more was not accomplished, because of the unreasonable hostility of the employing class against this so very reasonable demand of labor, especially when made without at the same time demanding ten hour's pay for eight hour's work. But this is not the only cause; the divisions in the ranks of labor itself is largely to blame. The Trades Unions, as a rule, responded most zealously to the appeals of this Federation, and had their efforts been met with that co-operation by the Knights of Labor, that their identity of interests so necessarily requires, there would have been no room for reproach, and the loss is therefore chargeable to the expressions of hostility coming from leading members of the Knights of Labor. However be that as it may, your committee is of the opinion that sufficient has been gained for an incentive to renewed efforts, and respectfully recommend appropriate action by this body in still further reducing the daily working time.

EIGHT-HOUR LAW AND CONTRACT WORK.

The Secretary of the Federation was directed by our last Congress to call the attention of the President of the United States to the continued violation of the eight-hour law. Before

the instructions could be carried out, the President directed the enforcement of the law.

We are in duty bound, however, to state, that while the law is being carried out, yet its obvious intentions are violated by letting out the Government work by contract, and the workmen are thus defrauded of the beneficent intention of the law.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR LAWS

In accordance with the resolution of the last session our late Secretary, William H. Foster, forwarded to a number of Congressmen and Senators copies of the resolutions calling for an International conference of representatives of the civilized nations for general adoption of laws governing female and child labor, factory inspection and the regulation of the hours of labor, as proposed by the Swiss Government; but, up to this moment, we have heard nothing therefrom. The Representative of the Swiss Government at Washington has made inquiries in reference to this subject of the Legislative Committee, but we were unable to give them information. It is our opinion that this subject should receive serious consideration at the hands of our Government.

LABOR DAY.

At the third session of the Federation, a resolution was adopted making the first Monday in September, of each year, Labor's National Holiday, and recommending its observance by wage-workers, generally, throughout the country. This met with a response that exceeded the most sanguine expectations. In our great manufacturing and distributing centres, thousands of workmen marched in procession and participated in the festivities at the picnic grounds, where the most skilled mechanics, and workers in professions, and laborers united in a common celebration, exchanging friendly fraternal greetings while they listened to the champions of labor discussing the economic and political questions of the day. The good effects of this are so well understood that we recommend its more general observance still, until it shall be as uncommon for a man to work on that day as on Independence day.

CHINESE EMIGRATION LAW.

The evasion of the law to restrict the importation of Chinese, proves how worthless are legal enactments when not enforced by men in full sympathy therewith. An appeal to Congress to provide a supplementary act for the stricter enforcement thereof, would receive fair consideration at this time.

STATE LABOR LEGISLATION.

We take pleasure in reporting a general advancement in the interests of wage-workers, by means of labor legislation in the several States. Laws have been passed establishing Bureaus of Labor Statistics; the inspection and ventilation of mines, factories, and work shops; the prohibition of child labor, and the compulsory education of children under 14 years of age; the prohibition of convict labor contracts, and the establishment of Boards of Arbitration.

We urge workmen to continue in their efforts to gain equal advantages under the law.

PINKERTON POLICE.

In accordance with a resolution adopted at the last Congress, the late Secretary succeeded

in having a bill introduced in Congress, preventing corporations and individuals from employing Pinkerton detectives, vested with the constabulary and police powers, of a State of which they were not residents; the Committee believes in the necessity, and recommends that the Federation use every effort for the passage of the bill, or one of like import that will prevent the transportation from one state to another, of armed mercenaries and free lances in the employ of unprincipled capitalists, to intimidate and coerce workmen asking for their just rights.

PRIZE ESSAY.

Your Committee have not received any essay on the question of "Trades' Unions and Strikes" during the past year, and therefore recommend that the prize offered be withdrawn.

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS.

The last congress submitted to the various bodies represented, the question of adopting certain changes in our constitution, bearing upon the subject of arbitration, support of strikes, etc., which were rejected, not having received the required majority to become a law.

OFFICIAL JOURNAL.

The last Congress instructed your Committee to submit to this Congress, a plan, whereby an official journal could be issued, in order to more effectively bring before the workers, their views on labor matters, and to publish their official business. The necessity of such a journal in the interest of the Trades Union movement cannot be questioned, the matter is of so great importance, that we deem it not advisable to start the enterprise, unless there be sufficient guarantee for its maintenance; such a guarantee can only be found in a firm organization, based on a sound financial system. The eight-hour movement, and the many struggles of labor organizations which followed, as well as the uncertain conditions prevailing, prevented your Committee working out a plan; and we now hope that by the combined efforts of the Trades' Unions, in conference in this city with the Federation, an organization will be effected that will give assurance of success; we therefore suggest that this matter be laid over until after the conference takes place and the result is determined.

STRIKES.

The question of "strikes" is perhaps, in the present movement of "labor" organizations, one that is receiving the largest share of consideration by workmen not wholly, we must confess, guided by that intelligence which we think the subject deserves. We do not as a Federation, or as individuals, wish to be understood to be the advocates of strikes. On the contrary, it is well-known that the best regulated Trade Union has the least strikes; yet, while we deprecate this measure of warfare in the labor movement, we, however, cannot and will not join the general hue and cry of condemnation. Strikes are bad no doubt, but only are they so when they are failures, but not so bad when successful; therefore, to know when to strike, and more especially when not to, are the questions of greatest import; also when a strike is once entered, how to conduct the same is of great moment. We believe that when a strike is practical, the people most interested should be consulted, and have the

deciding voice. To "order a strike, with non-chalance, of large numbers of men, and "order them back" again to work under more degrading conditions than before they went on strike, with the bombast of a *Don Quixote*, is not, we submit, the best means of improving the condition of labor.

THE FEDERATION AND THE KNIGHTS.

The fifth annual Congress in executive session, considered the relations between the Trades' Unions and the K. of L., and instructed the Secretary to correspond with the officers of the latter body relative thereto. Secretary Foster communicated with Messrs. Powderly and Turner, and elicited replies from both; that of Mr. Powderly deserves special notice, on account of the tone of fairness it contained; but the continued hostility of the K. of L. to Trades' Unions leads us to believe that it was "a promise to the ear broken to the hopes," or that Mr. Powderly's power for good was sadly overestimated by the delegates to the last session of the Federation.

POLITICAL ACTION.

We regard with pleasure the recent political action of the organized workmen of the country, and by which they have demonstrated that they are determined to exhibit their political power. We, in full accord therewith, recommend to organized labor throughout the country that they persist in their recent efforts to the end that labor may achieve its just rights through the exercise of its political powers.

CHANGE OF MEETING.

It is one of the duties of the Legislative Committee to bring other unions into the ranks of the Federation. At last Congress we were instructed to send delegates to conventions of National Unions not yet connected with the Federation, to induce them to join it. In several instances, delegates or letters have been sent to such bodies for that purpose. The best opportunity that ever offered itself to make the Federation a strong and powerful body in the near future, is the conference of the National and International Unions. In order to come to an understanding with the unions which will be represented in that conference, and in view of the fact that the conference was called on the same day when the Congress of the Federation, in accordance with

the resolution of the last Congress, was to meet in St. Louis, we considered it advisable and in full accordance with the resolutions of the last Congress to change the meeting place from St. Louis, Mo., to Columbus, O., and the time of meeting from December 14 to December 7, so as to give delegates an opportunity to participate in the meetings of both, and to bring about, if possible, an amalgamation of the two bodies.

CONCLUSION.

Hoping that the spirit of fraternity and a closer affiliation of workmen may result from your deliberations, your Committee, in submitting this report to your hands, again urge such action as will increase the effectiveness of organized labor in its battle of emancipation from the opposition of organized and concentrated capital, leading us all up to a higher and nobler realization of civilization and enlightenment.

Yours in the cause,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President,
JOHN S. KIRCHNER,
Secretary,
W. E. TOMSON,
Second Vice-President,
H. A. MILLER,
Fourth Vice-President,
HENRY EMRICH,
Sixth Vice-President,
G. EDMONSTON,
Treasurer.

At the conclusion of the reading of the report, the same was, upon motion, referred to the Committee on Report of the Legislative Committee.

Mr. Wright moved that the sessions be held with open doors. Adopted.

Upon motion, all resolutions were referred to the proper committees without debate.

Upon motion, the Legislative Committee were instructed to confer with the conference of National Trades Unions, when in session, with the view of effecting an amalgamation.

Upon motion, the session adjourned until 10 A. M., December 8.

Adjourned.

SECOND DAY.

The Congress convened at 10 A. M., J. W. Smith, presiding; all the delegates being present at roll call.

Minutes of the previous meetings were then read and approved.

Communication from the Cuban Federation of Cigarmakers and the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, were read and ordered filed.

The Chairman announced the appointment of the following committees:

Committee on Standing Orders.—S. Gompers, P. J. McGuire, H. Emrich, C. P. Oyler, J. R. Winders.

Committee on Resolutions.—G. Edmonston, H. A. Miller, L. Negelie, S. B. Hasson, J. C. Craigie.

Committee on Legislative Committee's Report.—L. Negelie, J. R. Scott, J. Kane, J. McHenry Ryland.

Committee on Finance.—J. F. Mahoney,

E. Mulrancy, J. R. Scott, H. B. Kraft, J. L. Wright.

Mr. Wright was excused from serving on the Committee on Finance.

The Legislative Committee reported concerning their instructions with regard to the Trades' Union Conference, as follows:

That this Federation resolve itself into a

Committee of the Whole, and that it take part in the proceedings of the Conference.

Upon motion, the report was agreed to. The Federation then took a recess until 11:30 A.M. At the expiration of the recess, the Federation again met as a Committee of the Whole, Mr. J. R. Scott, in the chair. On motion of Mr. Gompers, the Committee then proceeded in a body to the Trade Union Conference.

THIRD DAY.

The Congress convened at 9 A. M., Mr. J. W. Smith, presiding.

All the delegates present at roll call. Minutes of previous meeting were read and approved.

Mr. J. R. Scott, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole, reported that the Committee had attended the Conference, and that all the delegates of the Federation had been admitted to seats as delegates to the Trade Union Conference; received and order filed.

Committee on Resolutions reported favorably on the following:

By Mr. E. Mulrancy:

WHEREAS, The universal adoption of the eight-hour system has long been desired by the industrial classes, who believe that such enforcement would redound to their moral, social, intellectual and financial welfare; and,

WHEREAS, Experience has practically demonstrated, that in order to secure such recognition, there must be "a long pull, a strong pull, and a pull altogether" by the representatives of the various labor organizations interested; that where plant or machinery is employed, it is impracticable for one city or state to successfully maintain it, when competing states or cities are working under the ten-hour system; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this body hereby pledges itself, as far as practical, to cooperate and work in harmony with all National or International organizations who desire to accomplish such results.

RESOLVED, That we earnestly request the various National and International Trade and Labor Associations to take definite action on this subject, at their next annual Convention, which shall be binding on every member within their ranks in every city within the United States, or United States and Canada, so that harmonious and joint action shall be secured, and that the local organizations be reminded that the primary object is the recognition of the eight-hour system, and that the question of wages is, for the time being, of secondary importance.

By Mr. J. L. Wright:

WHEREAS, At the annual session of the International Typographical Union, held in

Pittsburg, Pa., June 7-11, 1886, the following was unanimously adopted:

"RESOLVED, That in the event of the Congress of the United States making the Government Printing Office at Washington a bureau, any member of a subordinate union obtaining employment in said office shall be transferred from the active list of his union to a conditional list, to be kept by Columbia Union, No. 101, and be subject to beneficial dues only, so long as he remains in said Government Printing Office." Therefore,

RESOLVED, That the representatives of all the trades in North America in convention assembled, earnestly urge the Congress of the United States to enact such legislation as will secure the end sought after by the printers of our country.

By Mr. J. L. Wright:

WHEREAS, It is every day made manifest that master mechanics suffer loss through the desertion of apprentices, and journeymen mechanics are thereby brought into disrepute by association with said fugitive apprentices; and whereas, the journeymen and master mechanics are alike powerless to correct the evil except through an antagonism of interests; and whereas, it is self-evident that partially instructed workmen tend to injure the standing of handicraftsmen, and public policy calls for a remedy; therefore, resolved, That the Federation of Labor respectfully petitions the Congress of the United States of America to prescribe compulsory indenture in the District of Committee with a like one from the Trades reservation that the apprentice may have his domicile with his parents or guardian, and that the authority of his master shall only extend over the hours of employment at the particular trade or handicraft.

RESOLVED, That a committee representing every organization having delegates in this body, be appointed to present this preamble and resolutions to the Committees of Congress on the District of Columbia.

Respectfully, the Committee,
E. EDMONSTON, Chairman,
HUGO A. MILLER,
LOUIS NEGELIE,
JOHN C. CRAIGIE,
SAMUEL B. HASSON.

Upon motion, the report was adopted.

The Legislative Committee presented the following report:

Your Committee, acting as a Conference Committee with a like one from the Trades Unions, beg leave to report that we have met, and agreed upon the following:

FIRST, The Trades Union Conference has formed an organization to be known as the American Federation of Labor, with a constitution better protecting the interests of Trades Unions.

SECOND, We have agreed that all moneys, papers, and effects of the old Federation be turned over to the officers of the new organization, and that all per capita tax due the old Federation be collected by the new Federation.

THIRD, That the new organization agrees to print and publish the proceedings and reports of this Federation in the Official Proceedings.

Your Committee recommend further, that the Federation of Organized Trade and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada, do now merge into the American Federation of Labor, and request all affiliated bodies to do likewise,

Respectfully signed,

S. GOMPERS,
JOHN S. KIRCHNER,
H. EMRICH,
G. EDMONSTON,
H. A. MILLER,

Committee.

Upon motion the report was unanimously adopted, after which the Congress adjourned until Friday.

FOURTH DAY—Morning Session.

The Federation met pursuant to call of Mr. J. W. Smith, the Chairman. Roll call showed all the delegates present. Minutes of previous meeting were then read and approved.

The Committee on Legislative Reports reported as follows:

Columbus, December 10, 1886.

To the Federation, etc.:

Your Committee on the report of the Legislative Committee, recommend the report as offered, be concurred in and printed. Owing to the possibility of the Federation being amalgamated with the Trades' Union Conference, we deem it unnecessary to enlarge on any portion of it.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN R. WINDERS,
LOUIS NEGELIE,
JOHN SCOTT,
JOHN KANE,
SAMUEL B. HASSON.

Upon motion, the report was unanimously adopted.

The Finance Committee presented the following report of receipts and expenses for the session, together with the Financial Statement for the fiscal year, ending December, 1886, and recommended payment of bills due.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

RECEIPTS—1886.

Balance on hand.....	\$321 49
Jan. 18. Miscellaneous, Reports, 10....	1 00
Jan. 19. Dyer, J. B., Reports, 60....	5 00
Jan. 20. Miscellaneous, Reports, 70....	75
April 1. G. Edmonston, Reports, 12....	1 00
April 1. W. W. Wilkinson, Reports, 60	5 00
April 1. Miscellaneous, Reports, 2....	20
April 1. McAuliffe, Reports, 12....	1 00
April 1. Donker, Reports, 12....	1 00
April 1. P. J. McGuire, Reports, 100.	12 25
April 1. Donation from Robinson, Haverhill	10 00

April 10. Spencer, Springfield, Re- ports, 50	\$ 4 20
May 3. Donation from Lace Makers, Brooklyn	5 00
May 18. Donation from International Furniture Workers' Union	8 44
May 18. 48 Reports for International Furniture Workers' Union	4 00
Per Capita Tax of German Typographia Labor Union	10 00
Per D. M. Pascoe, Reports	1 00
Per Capita Tax, Baltimore Federation of Labor	20 00
Per Capita Tax, Journeymen Tailors' National Union	10 00
Per Capita Tax, Chicago Trades As- sembly	10 00
Per Capita Tax, International Furniture Workers' Union	20 00
Per Capita Tax St. Louis Trades' Assembly	10 00
Per Capita Tax, Granite Cutters' Na- tional Union	20 00
Per Capita Tax, Cigarmakers' Interna- tional Union of America	179 27
Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America	125 00
Total	\$795 60

EXPENDITURES—1886.

Jan. 4. Secretary's services to date....	\$30 00
Stationery	1 75
Porterage	90
Postage and registration	2 10
1 Cyclostyle	12 00
Jan. 13. Edmonston, expressage	1 50
Edmonston, lawyer's fee, preparing bond	1 00
D. J. Gallagher printing 2000 letter pads	9 50
D. J. Gallagher printing 3000 reports....	157 50
D. J. Gallagher printing 5000 circulars..	15 70
Feb. 8. D. J. Gallagher printing 3000 circulars, appeal	8 00
Feb. 8. D. J. Gallagher printing 1000 amendments	4 50
Secretary's services	36 00
Extra roller for cyclostyle	1 00

Stationery and postage.....	\$17 65
Feb. 11. Stationery, wrappers, and postage	17 08
April 1. Gompers' expenses to Wash- ington	12 00
April 7. Postage to date	62
April 12. Expressage on reports	50
April 12. Expressage on reports	65
April 12. Porterage on reports	35
May 31. Postage to date	38
Expressage on property	2 00
Expressage, postage and money orders..	2 40
Telegrams	1 00
Official services to Secretary Kirchner..	18 00
Official services to Secretary Kirchner during convention	13 00
Dec. 6. Stationery for Legislative Com- mittee	90
Dec. 8. W. E. Tomson's travelling ex- penses	50 00
Dec. 8. H. Emrich, loss of time	4 50
Dec. 8. G. Edmonston, loss of time....	4 50
Dec. 8. S. Gompers' services and ex- penses	25 85
Hall rent	13 50
Coal and benches	3 00
L. N. Pfeiffer, services as messenger...	9 00
To estate of W. H. Foster, late Secretary	32 30

Total expenses

Balance in hand of Treasurer.....

Total

Respectfully submitted,

J. F. MAHONEY,
H. B. KRAFFT,
E. MULRANEY,
JOHN SCOTT,

Committee.

Upon motion, the recommendations were adopted and the report referred to the Auditors

in conjunction with the Secretary for certification.

After which, the Congress adjourned.

Afternoon Session.

The Congress convened at noon, Mr. J. W. Smith, presiding, all delegates being present at roll call. The minutes of the previous session were read and approved. The Auditors then reported as follows:

To the Federation of Organized Labor of the United States and Canada:

Your Auditing Committee beg leave to report that they have examined the books of the Secretary and Treasurer, and find them correct.

CHAS. P. OYLER,
H. B. KRAFFT,

Auditors.

Upon motion, the report was adopted. Upon motion, the proceedings and reports of this session are to be printed in pamphlet form, by the officers of the American Federation of Labor, and the officers of the Federation are hereby directed to turn over all the property to the new organization. It was then resolved to request all affiliated unions to connect themselves with the American Federation of Labor, after which the Sixth and last session of the Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada, adjourned, *sine die*.

Attest:

JOHN S. KIRCHNER,
Secretary.

FIRST ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

HELD AT

Columbus, Ohio, December 8 to 12, 1886

Report of Proceedings. First Day—Morning Session.

Druid Hall,

Columbus, Ohio, December 8, 1886.

The Convention was called to order at 12 o'clock, M., by P. J. McGuire, Secretary of the Trades' Union Committee. The call for a Convention of Trades' Unions, dated November 10, 1886, was read, and, on motion, the Convention proceeded to form a temporary organization.

John McBride, of the National Federation of Coal Miners and Mine Laborers, was nominated as Temporary Chairman, P. J. McGuire was also nominated, but declined. Mr. John McBride was then unanimously elected Temporary Chairman. Mr. Samuel Gompers conducted Mr. McBride to the chair.

Nominations for Temporary Secretary being in order, P. J. McGuire was chosen by acclamation. Moved, that a committee of five on Credentials be appointed. Amended that the committee be elected. Amendment lost. The original motion was then adopted.

Committee on Credentials.—A. Strasser, John Scott, G. Edmonston, Hugo Miller, and James McDermott.

Adjourned to meet 2 o'clock, P. M.

Afternoon Session.

The Convention re-assembled at 2 o'clock P. M. John McBride in the chair.

The Committee on Credentials reported as follows:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS.

Columbus, December 8, 1886.

To the Convention of National and International Trades Unions:

Your Committee on Credentials, have examined the credentials presented to them, and

find them to be correct, and the following delegates entitled to represent the organizations named.

Iron Molders' National Union—P. F. Fitzpatrick, L. McHugh, *W. H. Kelly.

Typographical International Union—J. R. Winders, J. L. Wright, John Scott, D. P. Boyer.

Bricklayers' Union No. 1, Cincinnati, O.—J. McDermott.

German-American Typographia—Hugo Miller, Granite Cutters' National Union—James Duncan.

United Order of Carpenters of New York City—James Casserly.

New York Stereotypers' National Union—*J. J. Black.

New England Lasters' National Union.—*Edward L. Daly, W. H. Marden.

Furniture Workers' National Union — H. Emrich.

National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers—Hon. D. McLaughlin, Hon. J. McBride, G. Harris, E. Lewis, Chris Evans.

New York Mutual Benevolent and Protective Society of Operative Painters—J. F. Hanlon.

Journeyman Tailors' National Union.—James W. Smith.

Waiters' Union No. 1, New York—Julius Wiener.

Journeyman Bakers' National Union—George G. Block.

Journeyman Barbers' Protective Union of N. Y.—Edward Finkelstone.

International Boatmen's Union No. 1, of New York—J. J. Molloy.

United German Trades' Unions of New York —Bernhard Davis.

Metal Workers' National Union—George W. Appel.

Your Committee further report that the following delegates have been duly accredited to represent their organization in the "Federation of Trades," and recommend that they also be seated in this Conference as delegates:

Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of

1886]

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

13

America—John Kane, P. J. McGuire, J. McH. Ryland, G. Edmonston.

Cigarmakers' International Union—Samuel Gompers, John S. Kirchner, J. F. Mahoney, *A. Strasser.

Baltimore Federation of Labor—S. B. Hasson, C. P. Oylar.

Central Labor Union, Philadelphia—H. B. Krafft.

Chicago Trades' Assembly—E. Mulraney.

Essex County (N. J.) Trades' Assembly—J. C. Cragie.

St. Louis Trades' Assembly—Louis Negelie.

Making a total of twenty-five organizations, represented by forty-two delegates, with a membership of 316,469 members in good standing.

G. EDMONSTON, Secretary,
JAMES McDERMOTT,
JOHN SCOTT,
A. STRASSER, Chairman.

The report of the Committee was unanimously accepted as read. Moved, that, inasmuch as the Cigarmakers' International Union is entitled to one more delegate, that the name of A. Strasser, President of the Cigarmakers' International Union, be added to the roll of delegates. Carried unanimously. Moved, a committee of five, on Rules and Order of Business be appointed. Carried. Committee as appointed—J. W. Smith, L. Negelie, John Kane, Christopher Evans, and John S. Kirchner. Moved that a committee of three, on Permanent Organization, be appointed. Carried. Committee on Organization—A. Strasser, George Appel, and P. F. Fitzpatrick. Credentials of A. G. Denny, of Local Assembly 300, Knights of Labor (Window Glass Workers), presented and referred to Committee on Credentials. Moved, that a committee of five, on Resolutions, be appointed. Carried. Committee on Resolutions—J. Casserly, George Harris, Edward Finkelstone, J. F. Mahoney, and John Kane. The Committee on Permanent Organization reported as follows:

Columbus, December 8, 1886.

To the Convention:

The Committee on Permanent Organization beg leave to report as follows: Chairman, John McBride; Vice-Chairman, J. W. Smith; Secretaries, P. J. McGuire, John S. Kirchner; Doorkeeper, W. E. Tomson; Messenger, E. N. Pfleger.

A. STRASSER, Chairman.
P. FITZPATRICK,
GEORGE W. APPEL.

Report adopted. Moved, that a committee of five, on Constitution, be selected. Amended, that the committee be increased to seven in number. The amendment was put to vote, and carried. The Committee on Constitution—S. Gompers, P. J. McGuire, Edward Mulraney, H. Emrich, P. F. Fitzpatrick, Daniel Mc-

*Added later in the session.

Laughlin, J. R. Winders. Mr. Gompers resigned from the Committee on Rules, not being able to attend to the duties of that Committee. The resignation of Mr. Gompers was thereupon accepted, and Mr. L. Negelie was thereupon substituted on the Committee on Rules.

Moved, that the reporters of the press not delegates to this Convention, be excluded from the sessions, and official reports be furnished twice a day to the reporters, by the Secretary. After a prolonged discussion, the motion to exclude the press, was adopted by a vote of 18 to 10. Moved, that any person not a reporter, who is a member of any trade or labor union, shall be entitled to admission as a visitor. Carried unanimously. The reporters then retired.

A telegram from J. A. Steiger, Philadelphia, Pa., was received and filed.

Communications of sympathy were then read from Wm. Weihe, Pittsburgh, Pa.; The Trades' Council, of New Haven, Conn.; Wm. J. Smith, President American Flint Glass Workers; J. P. Donnelly, President Journeymen Plumbers' National Union; Thomas O'Dea, Secretary of the Bricklayers and Masons' International Union; The Shoe Salesmen's Union of New York; Tailors' Progressive National Union; Federation of Cuban Cigarmakers' of New York City, and Hugh McGregor, of New York; also a telegram from J. P. McDonnell, Paterson, N. J. Circulars in relation to the W. H. Foster Memorial Association were then presented and distributed among the delegates. Committee on Resolutions then retired to attend to their committee work.

RESOLVED, That the Convention do now enter into an informal discussion for one hour and a half, on the necessity of a Federation, and in the suggestion of a plan of organization. By request the Standing Committee on Trades' Unions stated their views on the question of Federation. Messrs. McGuire, Evans, Fitzpatrick and Strasser, spoke for the Committee. Mr. George Block took the floor and favored more radical action on the part of Trades' Unions than had heretofore been the rule.

Credentials were then presented as follows: J. J. Black, New York Stereotypers' Association, and Edward L. Daly, W. H. Marden, New England Lasters' Protective Union. Committee on Credentials reported favorably on the credentials. Motion was made, that the three newly arrived delegates be admitted to seat and vote. Objections were raised by the

delegates of the International Typographical Union, to the admission of the delegates from the Stereotypers, on the ground that said society should be connected with the International Typographical Union. Motion amended, that the two delegates from the Lasters' Protective Union be admitted. The amendment prevailed. Motion made, to admit the delegate of the Stereotypers. After an explanation from

Mr. J. J. Black, the objections of the International Typographical Union were withdrawn, and the delegate of the Stereotypers was then admitted by almost a unanimous vote. Mr. J. Wright, of the International Typographical Union, voting in the negative. Committee on Resolutions announced itself ready to report. On motion, the Convention then adjourned until 9 A. M., December 9, 1886.

SECOND DAY—Morning Session.

The second day's session of the Trades' Union Convention opened in Druid Hall, December 9, at 9 A. M., John McBride in the chair.

Mr. J. W. Smith, Chairman of the Committee on Rules, then presented the following report:

Columbus, December 8, 1886.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Convention:

Your Committee on Rules hereby present the following rules for the government of the session:

1. The time of the meetings of the Congress shall be as follows: On the first day, to assemble at noon; on all other days at 9 A. M. Adjourn at 12; reassemble at 2, and adjourn at 6 P. M., and at the appointed time the chairman shall call the Congress to order.

2. During the hours of meeting, no delegate will be allowed to leave the room, unless on special business.

3. Every delegate, when he rises to speak, shall respectfully address the chair. While speaking, he shall confine himself to the question.

4. Should two or more rise to speak at the same time, the chair shall decide who is entitled to the floor.

5. No delegate shall interrupt another in his remarks unless to call him to order for words spoken, or for the purpose of explanation.

6. If a delegate, while speaking, be called to order, he shall, at the request of the chair, take his seat until the question of order is determined, when, if permitted, he may proceed again.

7. A delegate shall not speak more than once on the same subject or question until all who wish to speak shall have had an opportunity to do so; nor more than twice without permission from the house; nor any longer than 5 minutes at one time, without permission.

8. A question shall not be subject to debate until it has been seconded and stated from the chair, and it shall be reduced to writing at the request of any member.

9. When a question is before the house, no motion shall be in order, except to adjourn, for the previous question, to postpone indefinitely, to postpone for a certain time, to divide, to commit, or to amend, which motions

shall severally have precedence in the order herein arranged.

10. A motion to lay on the table shall be put without debate.

11. A motion for a reconsideration shall not be received, unless made in the same session by a delegate who voted in the majority.

12. Any delegate who shall misbehave himself in the meeting, or disturb the harmony or order thereof, either by abusive, disorderly, or profane language, or shall refuse obedience to the presiding officer, shall be admonished of his offense from the chair, and if he offend again, he shall be excluded from the room for the session, and afterward dealt with as the Congress may determine.

13. Any delegate who may not be present when the last name on the roll has been called, shall be marked as absent by the Secretary.

14. All questions not herein provided for shall be decided according to Cushing's Manual.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

1. Roll call of officers and delegates.
2. Reading minutes of previous session.
3. Report of Committee on Credentials.
4. Report of officers.
5. Reports of regular committees.
6. Reports of special committees.
7. Unfinished business.
8. New business.
9. Good of the Federation.

Respectfully, the Committee,
JAS. W. SMITH, Chairman.
JOHN S. KIRCHNER,
CHRIS. EVANS,
LOUIS NEGELE,
JAS. McDERMOTT,
JOHN KANE.

The report was adopted as read:

The Committee on Credentials reported favorably on the credentials of W. H. Kelly, delegate of the Iron Molders' Union of North America.

The report was adopted, and Mr. Kelly was admitted as a delegate.

The Committee on Credentials reported unfavorably on the credentials of Mr. A. G. Denny, of the Window Glass Workers, on the ground that said organization is affiliated with the Knights of Labor, and is not a Trade Un-

ion within the meaning of the call for the Convention. The report was adopted unanimously.

The Committee on Resolutions then presented the following report:

WHEREAS, There are many questions affecting the interests of the working classes, which cannot be dealt with in special and separate Trade and Labor Unions, and as that end can be best attained by a Federation of all Trade and Labor Unions, through which all branches of labor may prove allies to any particular one that may be oppressed, and all may form one brotherhood for the defense and protection of the laboring masses; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, 1. That we, the delegates of the various Trades and Labor Unions here represented, do hereby form a Federation of all Trade and Labor Unions of America, to ensure the attainment of the objects for which this Convention was called; be it further

RESOLVED, 2. That a committee of five be appointed for that purpose, to confer with

a committee from the Congress of the Federation of Trades.

On motion it was decided that said report be received and acted on *seriatim*. The report was then received and read *seriatim*.

Resolution No. 1 was referred to Committee on Constitution.

Resolution No. 2 was adopted.

A motion was then made to appoint a Conference Committee to meet with like committee from the Federation of Trades. Carried.

Messrs. Block, Emrich, Krafft, Kirchner and Negele, then introduced various resolutions, which were referred under the rules, to the Committee on Resolutions.

Motion was made to adjourn until 2 P. M. Carried. Whereupon the Convention then adjourned.

SECOND DAY—Afternoon Session.

Promptly at 2 P. M. the Convention reassembled, Mr. John McBride in the chair.

The Chairman then announced the Committee on Conference with the Legislative Committee of the Federation of Trade. The Committee consisted of Messrs. Strasser, Block, McHugh, McLaughlin and Hanlon.

Minutes of the previous day were read, and with a slight correction as to Mr. J. L. Wright's protest against the stereotypers, were then unanimously adopted.

A telegram of sympathy was read from J. W. Braidwood, Vineland, N. J. Received and ordered filed.

Mr. Geo. Block moved that the roll of delegates be called, and each delegate be permitted to state the condition of the organization he

represents, and its relations towards the Knights of Labor. Carried unanimously.

Reports were made in behalf of their respective unions by Messrs. Fitzpatrick, Boyer, McDermott, Miller, Duncan, Casserly, McGuire, Emrich, Evans, Hanlon, Smith, Wiener, Block, Kinkelstone, Molloy, Davis, Appel and Strasser. (For reports see pages 17 and 18.)

On motion, the Secretary was instructed to send a telegram of greeting to the workmen's meeting tonight in Cooper Institute, New York, in aid of the workmen's paper, the New York Daily Leader.

On motion, an invitation from Henry Dorn, State Factory Inspector, to visit the State Institutions, was accepted. The Convention then adjourned until 9 A. M., December 10, 1886.

THIRD DAY—Morning Session.

The third day's session was opened December 10, at 9 A. M., Mr. J. McBride presiding. Minutes of previous day read and approved. The messenger was ordered to procure a hall for a night session.

Communications from Trades Union men in Syracuse, Philadelphia, New York, Chicago, and Paterson, were read and ordered filed.

Letters from the delegates of the Journey-men Barbers and the Waiters, each requesting

the aid of all Trades Unions to help them in their efforts to form a National Trade Union, were received and referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

The Standing Trades Union Committee, appointed at the Trades Union Conference in Philadelphia, made a full and extended report through its Secretary, P. J. McGuire, as to its efforts in endeavoring to effect an agreement with the Knights of Labor. It related its va-

rious visits, first to the General Assembly of the K. of L., at Cleveland, O., May 25, 1886, and secondly, to the K. of L. Executive Board, at the Bingham House, Philadelphia, September 28, 1886—just prior to the Richmond Convention. At the Cleveland meeting, a treaty was presented and finally rejected by the K. of L. At the Philadelphia meeting definite promises were made, but nothing definite was done by the Richmond General Assembly. The treaty presented at Cleveland is as follows:

FULL TEXT OF THE TREATY.

1. That in any branch of labor having a national or international organization, the Knights of Labor shall not initiate any person or form any assembly of persons following said organized craft or calling without the consent of the nearest national or international union affected.
2. That no person shall be admitted to the regular scale of wages fixed by the union of his craft, and none shall be admitted to membership in the Knights of Labor who have ever been convicted of scabbing, ratting, embezzlement, or any other offense against the union of his trade or calling, until exonerated by the same.
3. That the charter of any Knights of Labor Assembly of any trade having a national or international union, shall be revoked, and the

members of the same be requested to join a mixed assembly, or form a local union, under the jurisdiction of their respective national or international trades union.

4. That any organizer of the Knights of Labor who endeavors to induce trades unions to disband, or tampers with their growth or privileges, shall have his commission forthwith revoked.

5. That whenever a strike or lockout of any trades union is in progress, no assembly or district assembly of the Knights of Labor shall interfere until settled to the satisfaction of the trades union affected.

6. That the Knights of Labor shall not establish or issue any trade mark or label in competition with any trade mark or label now issued, or that may hereafter be issued by any national or international trades union.

The report of the Committee was adopted unanimously, and the Committee was continued. The Trades Union Committee was instructed to meet a committee of five, then present in Columbus, from the Knights of Labor, and to insist upon a settlement upon the basis of the above treaty. Mr. Edward L. Daley, of the Shoe Lasters' Union, was appointed to fill the vacancy of Mr. William Weihe, on the Committee.

Adjourned to meet at 2 P. M.

THIRD DAY—Afternoon Session.

At 2 P. M. Chairman McBride called the Convention to order. The Committee on Resolutions reported favorably the following resolutions:

WHEREAS, It has pleased the Supreme Ruler of the universe to remove from our midst, since the last Convention of the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada, William H. Foster, our late Secretary, and

WHEREAS, There has been formed in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, an association known as the Foster Memorial Association, having for its object the erection of a monument to the memory of Mr. Foster, and

WHEREAS, This Convention deems this movement worthy of all the support at the hands of organized labor. Therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to this Convention be requested to report this movement to their respective organizations, with the recommendation of this Convention, that they render this worthy movement such financial assistance as they may feel themselves able to give.

Adopted.

POLITICAL ACTION.

WHEREAS, This subject is one which has, in the past, been a prolific source of dissension and trouble in the ranks of the workmen; but, happily, the revolution recently witnessed in the election contest in several states, notably,

the remarkable and extraordinary demonstration made by the workmen of New York, Milwaukee, Chicago, and other places, shows us the time has now arrived when the working people should decide upon the necessity of united action, as citizens at the ballot box.

WHEREAS, The necessity of this is apparent from the subjection of the police power to the interest of corporate capital, in enforcing upon their employees conditions repulsive to free labor and liberty and if the nefarious work of the Pinkerton Detective Agency is to be stopped the workers must secure a greater share of political power; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Convention urge a most generous support to the independent political movement of the workmen.

Adopted.

RESOLVED, That this Convention earnestly request the Congress of the United States to pass a bill prohibiting United States soldiers from competing with citizens of any trade or calling, under any condition whatever.

Adopted.

Mr. Gompers made a personal explanation in reference to attacks made upon him by the Ex-Board of the K. of L. in a pamphlet recently issued, entitled Cigarmakers, vs. the K. of L.

Adjourned to meet at 7 P. M.

THIRD DAY—Evening Session.

Convention called to order at 8 P. M.; John McBride in the chair.

Resolved to sit in continuous session until all business is disposed of.

Committee on Resolutions reported favorably on resolution to aid the Journeymen Barbers and Waiters in effecting a more thorough organization. Report adopted. The Committee also reported favorably on resolution recommending a hearty support of the labor press, and of the label of the United Hatters. Report adopted.

Communication from the Hatters National Union received and filed.

The Committee on Constitution presented its report, and various sections were adopted as read, and some as amended. After spending several hours on the Constitution, further consideration was then postponed until the next morning.

On motion, it was resolved we proceed to the selection of a place for the next meeting of the "American Federation of Labor." The following cities were proposed with the following results:

	1st Ballot.	2d Ballot.	3d Ballot.	4th Ballot.
Baltimore	12	17	18	23
Philadelphia	3	—	—	—
Boston	6	6	2	—
Columbus	2	—	1	—
Cincinnati	6	8	13	12
St. Louis	3	4	2	—
Total	32	35	36	37

Baltimore, Md., having received a majority of all votes cast, was thereupon declared the place for holding the Second Annual Convention of the "American Federation of Labor," on December 13, 1887.

The following resolution was then adopted, upon a favorable report from the Committee on Resolutions:

CHINESE IMMIGRATION.

WHEREAS, The law restricting Chinese Immigration has been evaded, violated, and made to an extent inoperative by the action and decisions of the United States Courts of the Pacific Coast, who have been admitting all Chinese who have seen fit to invoke their aid, and have thus nullified the efforts of the Collector and Surveyor of the Port of San Francisco, who have honestly and conscientiously endeavored to enforce the laws against the further introduction of a class of immigrants who have no sympathy with our government, civilization, or social customs; therefore,

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor is in full accord with the workmen of the Pacific Coast in the fierce struggle for existence to which they are subjected by reason of competition with Chinese, who have spread over that section, and are a standing menace to the prosperity and happiness of the workmen of the country, and the peace of the nation, and we demand the rigid enforcement of the laws now on the statute books to prohibit Chinese immigration, and the passage of such further laws by Congress as may be necessary to effectually prevent the use of the courts, as a back door to admit such immigrants.

Convention then adjourned until 8 A. M., December 11.

FOURTH DAY—Morning Session.

Convention assembled at 8 A. M., Mr. John McBride as Chairman. Minutes of previous day read and approved.

Committee on Constitution proceeded with its report, and the report, after some amendment, was adopted. The Constitution, as printed on Page 3 of these proceedings, was then unanimously adopted as a whole. On motion it was decided that the Constitution go into effect on March 1, 1887, after the same has been duly ratified by a general vote of the

organizations represented in this Convention.

The Committee to wait upon the Knights of Labor Committee reported as follows:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE OF CONFERENCE WITH THE COMMITTEE OF THE KNIGHTS OF LABOR.

Columbus, O., December 11, 1886.

To the Delegates of the Trades Union Convention:

Your Committee on Conference with the Knights of Labor beg leave to report that we met that Committee at the United States Ho-

tel, Columbus, Ohio, on December 10, 1886, at 1:30 P. M. Our Chairman, Mr. P. F. Fitzpatrick, presented the credentials and instructions of our Committee to the Committee of the Knights of Labor. A series of questions was then presented by Mr. Fitzpatrick on behalf of our Committee. Mr. John Howes, Chairman of the Knights of Labor Committee, acted as spokesman for them, and Mr. Fitzpatrick as spokesman for us.

We now beg leave to report our questions and the answers of the K. of L. Committee. Mr. Fitzpatrick inquired:

What have you done in Cleveland with the treaty presented by the Trades Union?

Mr. Howes—It was presented to the General Assembly, referred to a committee, and reported on unfavorably; it was then defeated. A substitute was proposed, discussed, and rejected by the General Assembly, and finally a Committee of Conference, to act with the Trades Union Committee and consider past grievances, was ordered appointed. The Committee did not meet; nothing was done, and no report was made at Richmond. I do not remember whether our present Committee was revived at Richmond or not. The Committee of which I am now chairman has been recently specially appointed to meet your Committee here.

Mr. Fitzpatrick—We desire to again present that treaty, offered at Cleveland, and renew it for consideration by your Committee.

Mr. Howes—We have no power to take that treaty into consideration. The General Assembly, at Cleveland, has passed upon it, and we cannot act upon business disposed of by them.

Mr. Fitzpatrick—If you will not consider our treaty, are you ready to consider the substitute offered by some of your delegates in the Cleveland General Assembly?

Mr. Howes—We cannot do so. That substitute was defeated in the Cleveland General Assembly, and that disposes of the substitute.

Mr. Fitzpatrick—What powers have your Committee, or what instructions, in regard to Trades Union matters?

Mr. Howes—We have no instructions, nor are we clothed with full power in dealing with this matter.

Mr. Fitzpatrick—Are you now willing to enter into some arrangements for the future?

Mr. Howes—Our Committee has no proposition to make, but will consider any proposition coming from your Committee. We have no grievances against the Trades Union. It is our desire to report to the Executive Board of the Knights of Labor, inasmuch as we consider our Committee as auxiliary to them.

Mr. Fitzpatrick—Our Committee have been instructed to present the treaty offered at Cleveland as the best basis of settlement.

Mr. Howes—We cannot consider that treaty. It has been rejected by our General Assembly.

Mr. Fitzpatrick—If we enter into negotiations, will your Committee have power to make recommendations to the Executive Board of your Order?

Mr. Howes—Our General Executive Board is the only body that can make recommendations. For it is the General Assembly, when that body is not in session.

Mr. Denny (member of the K. of L. committee)—Mr. Powderly is anxious, I assure you, for a settlement, and so is the order at large, but we have no definite instructions.

Mr. Fitzpatrick—We wish to state that we have an abundance of testimony to show many

grievances of where suspended and expelled members of Trades Unions, "rats and scabs," embezzlers of union funds, and unfair men generally, have been admitted to membership in the K. of L. We did not know that your Committee was coming here, or we would bring some thirty pounds of documents to prove our case. Fortunately, we have a few with us, and if you desire to consider them, we will present them.

Mr. Howes—We will grant that your statement be true. If such be the case, will it be sufficient if this committee will assure you that they will use their utmost influence to prevent such trouble for the future, and recommend the executive board the adoption of such measures as to prevent their recurrence?

Mr. Fitzpatrick—Are you willing to do so?

Mr. Howes—We cannot guarantee anything definite. My opinion is, that in our organization we should be the judges as to who shall constitute our membership.

Considerable discussion then ensued as to what constituted a "scab" in labor matters. Mr. Denny admitted that any man who takes an obligation to live up to certain rules in any trade organization, and then violates them, is certainly a "scab."

Mr. Howes—We cannot always regulate such matters, and there is likely to be conflict while there is a double jurisdiction of the Knights of Labor and Trades Union in any occupation.

Mr. Denny said the only remedy is in consolidation with the Knights of Labor.

Your Committee reported many instances of infringement upon Trades Unions by incompetent or over-zealous organizers in the Knights of Labor. Whereupon Mr. Howes remarked that it was very difficult to get at these organizers, but it might be remedied through general instructions from the headquarters of the K. of L.

Mr. Fitzpatrick asked him if he would promise to recommend that such steps be taken. Mr. Howes said that he was instructed to promise anything, and could not make any guarantee. After much desultory discussion, your Committee concluded that no settlement could be arrived at unless the K. of L. Committee were clothed with power to settle, and give us proper guarantees for the future. The conference terminated without any result, and your Committee recommend that the Executive Council of the newly organized Federation shall issue an address to the public upon the subject, and that the same be done at an early date. We might have terminated the conference the first half hour of the meeting, for it was evident the K. of L. Committee had no power to act. In the interest of harmony, we deemed it wiser to spend the three hours we did in a friendly discussion, with the hope of coming to an understanding. We rest the matter entirely in your hands.

Yours fraternally,

P. F. FITZPATRICK,
A. STRASSER,
CHRIS. EVANS,
EDWARD L. DALEY,
P. J. MCGUIRE,

Committee.

The report of the Committee was accepted and the Committee discharged.

Resolutions in favor of boycotting the New York Tribune, the Cleveland Daily Leader and Evening News were adopted; also to support the Journeymen Bakers' National Union in

their work of organization and to buy none but union-made bread with the union label. The blue label of the Cigar Makers' International Union was unanimously endorsed as the only union label in that trade. The indiscriminate and frivolous use of the boycott as a remedy on every trifling occasion was strongly condemned and its careful and energetic use as a last resort, when properly undertaken, was most favorably endorsed, also the formation of State Trades' Assemblies was recommended. The following resolutions, as reported from the Committee, were unanimously adopted:

SHORTER HOURS OF LABOR.

RESOLVED, That while we favor the adoption of the eight-hour system, and shall do all in our power to have it ultimately adopted, yet we deem it advisable for the present to establish the system of nine hours as a day's work in all branches of labor now working ten hours a day, and where men are now working more than ten hours a day, we shall use every effort to aid and encourage them to still further reduce the hours of labor.

THE KNIGHTS OF LABOR.

WHEREAS, The K. of L. have persistently attempted to undermine and disrupt the well-established Trades' Unions, organized and encouraged men who have proven themselves untrue to their trade, false to the obligations of their union, embezzlers of moneys, and expelled by many of the unions, and conspiring to pull down the Trades' Unions, which it has cost years of work and sacrifice to build; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we condemn the acts above recited, and call upon all workmen to join the unions of their respective trades, and urge the formation of National and International Unions and the centralization of all under one head, The American Federation of Labor.

BLACKLISTING.

WHEREAS, At the annual session of the Boss Brewers' Association, held at Niagara Falls, a resolution was passed instructing the

Secretary to obtain the names of all workmen who are members of any union, for the purpose of blacklisting all who will not become the servile slaves of the employers. Therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor emphatically condemns all efforts on the part of employers to break up Trades Unions, and reduce the workers to a state of abject slavery.

APPRENTICE LAWS.

RESOLVED, That we demand that the Congress of the United States of America pass a compulsory indenture law, applicable to the mechanic act, and operative in the District of Columbia and Territories, said law reserving to the apprentice his domicile with his parent or guardian, and limiting the authority of the master over the apprentice to the hours of employment in the particular trade or handcraft.

PINKERTON DETECTIVES.

RESOLVED, That we condemn the armed organization known as Pinkerton's Preventive Patrol and the Coal and Iron Police, or any armed body of men formed to act as spies and thugs for corporate monopolies, with the extraordinary privilege of moving about from one state to another, plying their nefarious trade of overawing peaceful laborers into submission to the degrading conditions of servitude.

INDISCRIMINATE APPROPRIATIONS IN STRIKES.

RESOLVED, That this Federation discontinue the practice of local bodies indiscriminately appropriating moneys to every appeal in strikes, and that they reserve all their resources to contribute more liberally to official appeals made by this Federation, in behalf of bodies connected therewith, and who are also the only ones entitled to their support.

TRADE UNION LABELS.

RESOLVED, That we pledge ourselves, and request our respective organizations to recognize and patronize the union labels and trade marks of all bona fide Trades Unions, and no other.

All adopted. The Convention on motion then adjourned until 2 P. M.

FOURTH DAY—Afternoon Session.

Convention met at 2 P. M., J. McBride presiding. The Committee on Conference with the Federation of Trades reported as follows:

The Committee on Conference with the Federation of Trades begs leave to report:

Mr. Gompers, from the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions, appeared before your Committee, and stated that at a meeting held by the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions, a resolution was passed to the following effect, viz.:

The Legislative Committee, per instructions of Federation, announce that our body has resolved to turn over all moneys, papers and effects to the "American Federation of Labor,"

with the request for the publication of their Legislative Committees' Report, and other proceedings of that body, in the Proceedings of the American Federation of Labor when published. The committee further requests the collection of the per capita due the Federation by the International Typographical Union.

We, your Committee, respectfully recommend the acceptance of the above generous offer.

Respectfully submitted,

A. STRASSER, Chairman.

L. McHUGH.

D. McLAUGHLIN.

JAS. McDERMOTT, Sec.

Adopted. On motion the various committees were discharged.

Ordered that the Secretary and Treasurer be empowered to pay all bills due on account of this session, also that a stenographer be employed.

On motion the Convention proceeded to nomination and election of officers.

For President: John McBride, Samuel Gompers, Geo. Block and Larkin McHugh were nominated. Messrs. McBride, Block and McHugh declined, whereupon Mr. Samuel Gompers was declared elected President by a unanimous vote.

For First Vice-President: P. F. Fitzpatrick, George Harris, John McBride and H. Emrich were nominated. Messrs. Fitzpatrick, McBride and Emrich declined in favor of Mr. Harris and Mr. Geo. Harris was thereupon elected First Vice-President by acclamation. On motion Mr. J. W. Smith was elected Second Vice-President unanimously.

For Secretary: P. J. McGuire, D. P. Boyer and J. S. Kirchner were nominated. Messrs. Boyer and Kirchner declined in favor of Mr. P. J. McGuire. He was consequently unanimously chosen as Secretary. Mr. McGuire then tendered his resignation as Secretary,

pleading his inability to attend to the duties of the position, as his present official duties as General Secretary of the Carpenters were more than enough to keep him busy. The resignation was unanimously rejected.

For Treasurer: James Casserly and G. Edmonston were nominated. A ballot being taken, Edmonston received 19 votes, Casserly 16. G. Edmonston was then declared elected as Treasurer.

On motion the thanks of the Convention were tendered to the officers of the Convention for the faithful performance of their duties.

RESOLVED, That the newly-elected officers of the Federation be instructed to provide for the publication of the Proceedings of the two Conventions. Carried.

RESOLVED, That the newly-elected officers take charge of the organization immediately after adjournment until the next Convention. Carried.

On motion the First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor adjourned *sine die*. The Second Annual Convention is to be held in Baltimore, Md., December 13, 1887.

OFFICIAL REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
Second Annual Convention

OF THE

American Federation
of Labor

HELD AT

CONCORDIA HALL
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND
December 13, 14, 15, 16, 17
1887

PUBLISHED BY DIRECTION OF
THE CONVENTION

CONSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

PREAMBLE.

WHEREAS, A struggle is going on in all the nations of the civilized world, between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between the capitalist and the laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the toiling millions, if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit.

It therefore behooves the representatives of the Trades and Labor Unions of America, in Convention assembled, to adopt such measures and disseminate such principles among the mechanics and laborers of our country as will permanently unite them, to secure the recognition of the rights to which they are justly entitled.

We therefore declare ourselves in favor of the formation of a thorough Federation, embracing every Trade and Labor Organization in America, organized under the trades union system of organization.

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.—NAME.

Section 1. This association shall be known as "The American Federation of Labor," and shall consist of such Trades and Labor Unions as shall conform to its rules and regulations.

ARTICLE II.—OBJECTS.

Section 1. The objects of this Federation shall be the encouragement and formation of local Trades and Labor Unions, and the closer Federation of such societies through the organization of Central Trades and Labor Unions in every city, and the further combination of such bodies into state, territorial, or provincial organizations, to secure legislation in the interests of the working masses.

Sec. 2. The establishment of National and International Trades Unions, based upon a strict recognition of the autonomy of each trade and the promotion and advancement of such bodies.

Sec. 3. An American Federation of all National Trades Unions, to aid and assist each other; and, furthermore, to secure National Legislation in the interests of the working people, and influence public opinion, by peaceful and legal methods, in favor of Organized Labor.

Sec. 4. To aid and encourage the labor press of America.

ARTICLE III.—CONVENTION.

Section 1. The Convention of the Federation shall be held annually, on the second Tuesday in December, at such place as the delegates have selected at the preceding Convention.

Sec. 2. At the opening of the Convention the President shall take the chair and call the Convention to order, and preside until his successor is elected.

Sec. 3. The following committees, consisting of five members each, shall be appointed by the President; 1st, Credentials; 2d, Rules and Order of Business; 3d, Report of President; 4th, Report of Secretary; 5th, Finance; 6th, Resolutions; 7th, Constitution; 8th, Organization; 9th, Labels and Boycotts.

ARTICLE IV.—REPRESENTATION.

Section 1. The basis of representation in the Convention shall be: From National or International Unions, for less than four thousand members, one delegate; four thousand or more, two delegates; eight thousand or more, three delegates; sixteen thousand or more, four delegates; thirty-two thousand or more, five delegates, and so on; and from each Local or District Trades organization or federated body, not connected with, or having a National or International head, affiliated with this Federation, one delegate.

Sec. 2. Questions may be decided by division or a show of hands, but if a call of the roll is demanded, each delegate shall cast one vote for every one hundred members, or major fraction thereof, he represents; but no City or State Federation shall be allowed more than one vote.

Sec. 3. No organization which has seceded or has been suspended or expelled from any National or International organization connected with the Federation, shall be allowed a representation or recognition in this Federation.

Sec. 4. No organization shall be entitled to representation unless such organization has applied for and obtained a certificate of affiliation at least one month prior to the Convention from the President of the Federation.

Sec. 5. No Central Labor Union or City or State Federation of Labor, or any other central body of delegates, shall admit to their councils delegates from any local organization that is hostile to the objects of this Federation, or that has been suspended or expelled by a National or International organization of their trade, under penalty or being denied representation in general conventions of this Federation.

CONSTITUTION

[1887]

ARTICLE V.—OFFICERS.

Section 1. The Officers of the Federation shall consist of a President, two Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, and a Treasurer to be elected by the Convention.

Sec. 2. Should a vacancy in any office occur between the annual meetings of the Convention, such vacancies shall be filled by the President of the Federation, by and with the consent of the Executive Council. When a vacancy occurs in the office of President, the Vice-Presidents shall succeed in their respective order.

Sec. 3. The President and Secretary shall be members of the succeeding Convention in case they are not delegates, but without vote.

ARTICLE VI.—DUTIES OF OFFICERS.

Sec. 1. It shall be the duty of the President to preside at all general conventions, to attend to all correspondences, publish a small quarterly circular on Feb. 28, May 31, Aug. 31, and Nov. 30, receipt for all monies, pay all bills, and travel with the consent of the Executive Council, wherever required in the interests of the Federation. His salary shall be \$1,200 per year, payable weekly, with mileage and expenses.

Sec. 2. The President shall have power to employ a clerk at such salary as shall be fixed by the Executive Council. The President shall publish his financial report in the quarterly circular and send ten copies to each affiliated body, and such additional number of copies as may be ordered and paid for by any organization connected with the Federation.

Sec. 3. It shall be the duty of the Secretary to keep the minutes of the convention and to attend to such business as may be decided by the Executive Council.

ARTICLE VII.—EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

Section 1. The Officers shall be on Executive Council with power to watch legislative measures directly affecting the interests of working people, and to initiate, whenever necessary, such legislative action as the Convention may direct.

Sec. 2. The Executive Council shall use every possible means to organize new National or International Trades Unions, and to organize local Trades Unions and connect them with the Federation, until such time as there are a sufficient number to form a National or International Union, when it shall be the duty of the President or the Federation to see that such organization is formed.

Sec. 3. While we recognize the right of each trade to manage its own affairs, it shall be the duty of the Executive Council to secure the unification of all labor organizations, so far as to assist each other in any justifiable boycott, and with voluntary financial help of the organizations connected with the A. F. L. in the event of a strike or lockout, when duly approved by the Executive Council.

Sec. 4. When a strike has been approved by the Executive Council, the particulars of the difficulty, even if it be a lockout, shall be explained in a circular issued by the President of the Federation to the Unions affiliated therewith. It shall then be the duty of all affiliated societies to urge their Local Unions and members to make liberal financial donations in aid of the working people involved.

ARTICLE VIII.—REVENUE.

Section 1. The revenue of the Federation shall be derived from International, National, District or local Trade (and Labor) Unions, who shall pay to the President of the Federation a per capita tax of one-fourth of one cent per month per member in good standing; and from Central Labor Unions or city and State federated bodies, \$25 per annum.

Sec. 2. Delegates shall not be entitled to a seat in this Federation unless the tax of their organization, as provided for in Section 1 of this Article, has been paid in full.

Sec. 3. Any organization, affiliated with this Federation, not paying its per capita tax on or before the 15th of each month, shall be notified of the fact by the President of the Federation, and if at the end of three months, it is still in arrears, it shall be suspended from membership in the Federation, and can only be reinstated by vote of the Convention, when such arrearages are paid in full.

Sec. 4. Each society affiliated with this Federation, shall make a quarterly report of its standing and progress to the President of the Federation.

Sec. 5. Whenever the revenue of the Federation shall warrant such action, the Executive Council shall authorize the sending out of Trades Union speakers, from place to place, in the interests of the Federation.

Sec. 6. The funds of the Federation shall be banked under the supervision of three Trustees, who shall be selected by the Executive Council, and shall be residents of the same city with the Treasurer. The Trustees shall report quarterly to the President the amount so banked. No money shall be paid out only in conformity with the rules laid down by the Executive Council.

Sec. 7. The accounts of the year shall be closed fourteen days prior to the assembling of the Convention, and a balance sheet, duly certified, shall be presented to the same.

Sec. 8. The remuneration for loss of time by members of the Executive Council or speakers engaged by them shall be \$3 per day and traveling and hotel expense.

ARTICLE IX.—MISCELLANEOUS.

Section 1. In all questions not covered by this Constitution, the Executive Council shall have power to make rules to govern the same, and shall report accordingly to the Federation.

Sec. 2. Certificates of affiliation shall be granted by the President of the Federation, by and with the consent of the Executive Council, to all National and International, and local bodies affiliated with this Federation.

Sec. 3. Any seven wage workers of good character, and favorable to Trades Unions, and not members of any body affiliated with this Federation, who will subscribe to this Constitution, shall have the power to form a local body, to be known as a "Federal Labor Union," and they shall hold regular meetings for the purpose of strengthening and advancing the Trades Unions movement, and shall have the power to make their own rules in conformity with this Constitution, and shall be granted a local certificate by the President of this Federation, provided the request for a certificate be endorsed by the nearest Local or National Trades Union officials connected with this Federation.

Sec. 4. The certificate fee for affiliated bodies shall be \$5, payable to the President of

1887]

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

5

the Federation, and which shall accompany the application.

Sec. 5. Where there are one or more Local Unions in any city, belonging to a National or International Union, affiliated with this Federation, they may organize a Trades Assembly or Central Labor Union, or join such body, if already in existence.

ARTICLE X.—AMENDMENTS.

Section 1. This Constitution can be amended

or altered only at a regular session of the Convention and to do so, it shall require a two third vote.

WILLIAM WEIHE,
P. J. McGUIRE,
JOHN McBRIDE,
JAMES DUNCAN,
R. H. METCALFE,

Committee on Constitution.

NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES ATTENDING THE SECOND ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, THE NAMES OF THE ORGANIZATIONS AND THE NUMBER OF SUBORDINATE UNIONS OR BRANCHES REPRESENTED.

NAME OF SOCIETY REPRESENTED.	NUMBER OF DELEGATES.	Number of Unions or Branches.	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES.
American Flint Glass Workers' Union	2	80	William J. Dillon, Room 16, Excelsior Block, Pittsburg, Pa. J. H. Burt, 336 Eoff Street, Wheeling, W. Va.
Bakers, Journeymen's National Union	1	72	George G. Block, 190 William Street, New York.
Barbers, Journeymen's National Union	1	18	Edward Finklestone, 431 Second Avenue, New York.
Boatmen's International Union ..	1	1	James J. Melloy, 26 Albany Street, New York.
Brewers' National Union	2	45	Gustave Linsl, 915 E. Pratt Street, Baltimore, Md. Louis C. P. Riege, 1551 Second Avenue, New York.
Brushmakers' International Union of America	1	4	John A. Orem, 543 Townsend Street, Baltimore, Md.
Carpenters' and Joiners' Union of America, Brotherhood of	4	353	P. J. McGuire, Box 884, Philadelphia, Pa. G. Edmonston, 805 11th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. John Kane, 193 Berkeley Street, Toronto, Canada. J. E. Fallis, 1438 Warren Street, St. Louis, Mo.
Cigarmakers' International Union of America	4	263	Samuel Gompers, 332 E. 8th Street, New York. Fred Haller, 239 East 75th Street, New York. John S. Kirchner, 543 Dillwyn St., Philadelphia, Pa. J. F. Mahoney, Mansion House, Springfield, Mass.
Coal Miners' Benevolent and Protective Association, of Illinois ..	1	32	Daniel McLaughlin, Braidwood, Ill.
Coal Miners' Amalgamated Association of Ohio	2	150	John McBride, Masillon, Ohio. Chris Evans, New Straitsville, O.
Coal Miners' Amalgamated Association of Pennsylvania (Dist. No. 3)	2	31	J. A. Trimbath, Uniontown, Fayette Co., Pa. Wm. Mullen, Scottsdale, Pa.
Furniture Workers' International Union	1	25	Henry Emrich, 339 East 21st St., New York.
Granite Cutters' National Union of America	1	69	James Duncan, 207 Scott St., Baltimore, Md.
Horse Collar Makers' National Union	1	16	Thos. Holland, 910 O'Fallon Street, St. Louis, Mo.
Iron Molders' Union of North America	3	249	P. F. Fitzpatrick, Box 388, Cincinnati, Ohio. John H. Kenney, Box 109, Norwalk, Conn. R. H. Metcalfe, 560 Queen St., West, Toronto, Canada.

NAME OF SOCIETY REPRESENTED.	NUMBER OF DELEGATES.	Number of Unions or Branches.	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES.
Iron and Steel Workers, National Amalgamated Association of....		170	William Weihe, 512-514 Smithfield St., Pittsburg, Pa. William Martin, 512-514 Smithfield St., Pittsburg, Pa. Jas. H. Nutt, 64 Alice St., Youngstown, Ohio. Geo. W. Appel, 90 E. Lombard Street, Baltimore, Md.
Metal Workers' National Union of North America.....	1	14	John Morrison, Washington, N. J. Edward J. Pender, 841 Washington St., New York.
Organ Makers, United Association of.....	1	1	J. T. Eliot, 1314 North Fulton Avenue, Baltimore, Md.
Oystermen's Union No. 1, of New York.....	1	1	Edw. L. Daley, Box 219, Lynn, Mass. William H. Marden, Box 42, Stoneham, Mass.
Painters and Decorators of America, Brotherhood of.....	1	74	Joseph Wilkinson, 135 West 25th St., New York.
Shoe Lasters' New England Protective Union.....	2	61	Frederick Rübenkönig, Jr., 1510 Jefferson Street, Baltimore, Md.
Tailors' (Custom), National Union.	1	40	Isaac B. Miller, 2822 Howard Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Tailors' Progressive Union of America.....	1	11	L. W. McDaniel, Hasselman Journal Co., Indianapolis, Ind.
Textile Workers' Progressive Union of America.....	1	21	Harry M. Ogden, Enquirer Composing Room, Cincinnati, O.
Typographical International Union.....	2	287	Hugo Miller, 115 Park Row, New York. H. F. Trapper, 57 Beacon Street, Jersey City, N. J.
Typographia, German American..	1	20	Julius Wiener, 141 Norfolk Street New York.
Umbrella and Walking Stick Dressers' Union, of Jersey City.	1	1	S. Barend, 396 Broadway, Brooklyn, E. D. N. Y.
Waiters' Union No. 1, of New York	1	1	F. Ackerman, 36 Green Street, Cleveland, O.
Central Labor Union of Brooklyn, N. Y.....	1	82	Otto A. Seusser, 37 Lotte Street, Cincinnati, O.
Central Labor Union of Cleveland, O.....	1	7	A. M. Kirchner, 877 Lawrence Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Central Labor Union of Cincinnati, O.....	1	10	Wm. Schillig, 1413 Clinton Street, St. Louis, Mo.
Central Labor Union of Philadelphia, Pa.....	1	11	Samuel B. Hasson, 38 N. Eden St., Baltimore, Md.
Central Trades and Labor Union, St. Louis, Mo.....	1	22	Joseph Shipley, 555 Pressman St., Baltimore, Md.
Federation of Labor, Baltimore, Maryland.....	2	22	E. Appleaghen, 610 State Street, Milwaukee, Wis.
Federated Trades Council, Milwaukee, Wis.....	1	9	E. F. McSweeney, 154 Main St., Marlboro, Mass.
State Federation of Massachusetts	1	14	Jos. P. McDonnell, Labor Standard, Paterson, N. J.
State Federation of New Jersey..	2	52	H. F. Trapper, 57 Beacon Street, Jersey City, N. J.
Trade and Labor Council, Detroit, Mich.....	1	15	Samuel Goldwater, 125 21st Street, Detroit, Mich.
Trade and Labor Council, Reading, Pa.....	1	11	Wm. H. McKinney, Mineral Spring Road and Clymer, St., Reading, Pa.
Trade and Labor Assembly, Chicago, Ill.....	1	56	Robert T. Swallow, 2907 Fifth Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

This roll shows 58 delegates representing 40 organizations, with 2,421 subordinate unions or branches and a total membership of 600,340 members in good standing; including the Federal Clubs and Local Unions affiliated with the A. F. of L., but not sending delegates to the Baltimore Convention.

SECOND ANNUAL CONVENTION

OF THE

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

HELD AT

Baltimore, Maryland, December 13 to 17, 1887

Report of Proceedings. First Day—Morning Session.

Concordia Hall,
Baltimore, Md., December 13, 1887.

The Second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled at Concordia Hall, Baltimore, Md., and was called to order at 10:30 A. M. by Mr. Samuel Gompers, President of the Federation.

The stage was handsomely ornamented by trade banners of the local Typographical, Cigarmakers' and Carpenters' Unions, and by United States flags and suitable decorations furnished by the Baltimore Federation of Labor.

Mayor Latrobe, of Baltimore, was escorted to the stage by the Reception Committee of the Baltimore Federation, and in a felicitous address welcomed the delegates to the hospitality of the city of Baltimore, and congratulated them on the successful work of the Federation.

President Samuel Gompers responded in behalf of the Federation, and thanked the Mayor for the kindly welcome and courtesy extended to the delegates.

Mr. N. B. Talbot, President of the Baltimore Federation of Labor, thereupon addressed the delegates, extending to them the hearty greetings of the organized workmen of Baltimore.

After Mr. Talbot's address, President Gompers declared the Convention open for the transaction of business, and on motion a Committee on Credentials was appointed as follows:

Committee on Credentials.—Wm. H. Marden, Ambrose M. Kirchner, Harry M. Ogden, John Kane and Edward Kinklestone.

Mr. Samuel Hasson, of Baltimore, extended a cordial invitation to the delegates to attend the levee of the Cigarmakers' Union, to be held this evening at Concordia Hall. By unanimous consent, the invitation was accepted.

The Convention then adjourned to meet at 2:30 P. M., to then hear the report of the Committee on Credentials.

FIRST DAY—Afternoon Session.

Convention reassembled at 2:30 P. M., President Gompers in the chair. Committee on Credentials reported as follows:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS.

Baltimore, Md., December 13, 1887.

Mr. President: Your Committee on Credentials beg leave to report that they have examined the credentials submitted to them, and the following named delegates are entitled to seats and votes in this Convention, to represent the organizations named.

(See list of delegates on pages 5 and 6.)
The credentials from the Journeymen Shoemakers Protective Union No. 1, of New York, we beg leave to submit to the Convention without recommendation, and ask for further time to investigate the credentials of the delegates from the Tailors' Progressive Union.

Respectfully submitted,
WM. H. MARDEN,
JOHN KANE,
HARRY M. OGDEN,
E. FINKELSTONE,
AMBROSE M. KIRCHNER.

EXCLUSION OF WASHINGTON DELEGATES.

J. S. Kirchner moved the report of the Committee on Credentials be received and adopted, with exception of that part favoring the admission of delegates from the Federation of Labor of Washington, D. C., Mr. Kirchner claimed said body was not fully in sympathy with the trades-union movement, as it was overwhelmingly composed of Knights of Labor Assemblies.

Messrs. E. W. Oyster and J. Harvey, delegates of the Washington Federation, defended their rights to seats. After a long and animated debate, participated in by Messrs. Ogden, McBride, Haller, McDaniels, McGuire, Block and others, on motion the previous question was ordered, and a rising vote was taken, with the following result: 38 ayes and 7 nays in favor of non-concurring in the report of the Committee on Credentials in regard to seating the delegates of the Washington Federation. President Gompers then ruled that E. W. Oyster and J. Harvey consequently were not entitled to seats as delegates in this Convention.

The balance of the committee's report on credentials was then taken up. The credentials of the Journeymen Shoemakers' Protective Union No. 1, of New York, as reported without recommendation, were next discussed. Motion was made to lay over the credentials of the

Shoemakers' delegate until after report of the Executive Council was read. Carried.

On motion further time was granted the Committee on Credentials to consider the case of the delegate of the Progressive Tailors.

Motion was made that the report of the Committee on Credentials, as amended, be adopted as a whole. Carried.

H. Shanninger, of Baltimore, was appointed Sergeant-At-Arms by consent of the delegates.

Hugh McGregor was appointed Messenger.

Moved all resolutions be referred to the Committee on Resolutions, without debate.

E. W. McDaniels moved to lay the whole subject over until after report of Committee on Rules is presented. By unanimous consent the whole subject was laid over.

At request of President Gompers, Mr. Wm. Weihe took the chair, to give Mr. Gompers opportunity to read the annual report of the Executive Council.

J. T. Elliott moved that reading of reports of officers be laid over until to-morrow morning's session. Previous question ordered and motion to lay over was lost by a large majority.

President Samuel Gompers then proceeded to read his annual report, which was presented in printed form, and a copy supplied to each delegate. The report is as follows:

PRESIDENT'S REPORT.

Delegates to the Second Session of the American Federation of Labor:

Fellow Workmen: We meet again, at the close of another year, to re-assert our fidelity to the glorious traditions of trade unionism, to review our past, to feed the sacred fire of brotherly sympathy, to take counsel how to change and improve the conditions of labor, and to re-affirm our faith in the ultimate emancipation of the class to which we have the honor to belong.

We are faithful to the traditions, the theory and methods of the trade union, not only because the trade union is the historic and natural form of working class organization; but also because trade unionism teaches that it is man's duty to live as a social, and not merely as a selfish being; and because membership in the union of a trade is the best possible guarantee of the member's integrity, usefulness and social worth.

We review the past because we are convinced that the labor movement can have no surer, no other guide than that furnished by human experience. We seek counsel because we recognize that all are wiser than any one, that the whole is greater than a part. We seek to revive the sense of sympathy, of fraternity, because we acknowledge the grand truth and the supreme goodness of the aspiration for the unity and brotherhood of man.

We, the defenders of the young but rapidly developing trade union movement in America, should be comforted and inspired by the knowledge that we do not stand alone and unsupported in the struggle to secure better conditions for the working classes. The formation and rapid development of the American Federation of Labor has been hailed with the heartiest expressions of joy and hope on the part of many trade unionists in other lands. In this connection it is particularly agreeable for me to state that the first official tender of sympathy and co-operation was made by the *Federation Française des Travailleurs du Livre*, the Typographical Union of France. While I am now speaking there are numberless gatherings of men and women, in many cities, in many lands, on several continents, speaking in many languages, but all converging to one idea and filled by the same aspiration. On the continent of Australia, and people, and the eight-hour work-day has for many years been the unwritten but effective law of the land. On the continent of Europe the trade union movement is slowly but none the less surely leading the more advanced minds from the dark valley of anarchical, revolutionary, class hatred to the upper region of a truly organic system. In Great Britain and Ireland, the cradle of our now universal movement, the Twentieth Annual Trade Union Congress unanimously adopted a resolution, "To bring about united action on questions directly affecting the interests of labor," by means of an International Congress. It is almost needless to say that it is

my earnest desire that America shall be worthily represented at said Congress, an official invitation to attend which having been received from the Secretary of the Trades Union Congress Parliamentary Committee, Mr. Henry Broadhurst.

Within the past few weeks I have had the pleasure of a visit from Mr. Wm. R. Cremer and Mr. Halley Stewart, British Members of Parliament, who are now in this country taking initiatory steps toward the negotiation of a treaty between the United States and the British Empire to submit all questions which cannot be settled by diplomatic agencies to arbitration. Arrangements have been made so that you may have the pleasure of listening to the arguments of the aforesaid gentlemen and of Sir George Campbell, who is also a member of the same respected delegation.

And now I would call your attention to the fact that the annual report of the various Bureaus of Labor Statistics show a large and abnormal increase in the employment of women and children in many industries. It becomes our duty to endeavor to modify the evils resulting from such employment. We know to our regret that too often are wives, sisters and children brought into the factories and workshops only to reduce the wages and displace the labor of men—the heads of families. First and foremost, we should bend our energies to the organization of laboring women in trade unions, and secure education for the children. The children must be protected alike from the ignorant greed of their parents as well as the rapacious avarice of their employers.

The demand for "Equal pay for equal work regardless of sex" is only a demand made by trade unions but often enforced at the cost of hardships and sacrifices entailed by bitter and prolonged strikes. It is one thing to mouth a sentiment and another to make sacrifices for its achievement.

The trades unions of England have female delegates at their conventions. The Federation has had the same.

MACHINERY DISPLACING LABOR.

I must now refer to one of the most important facts with which the labor movement has to grapple. The displacement of labor by machinery in the past few years has exceeded that of any like period in our history. The United States Commissioner of Labor in his report on "Industrial depression" says: "One man with the McKay machine can handle 300 pairs of shoes per day, while, without the machine he could handle but five pairs in the same time."

In the broom industry "each machine displaces three men."
Carpet industry—"In spinning alone it would take by the old methods from seventy-five to one hundred times the number of operatives now employed to turn out the same amount of work."

Hats—"The displacement has been 'in the proportion of nine to one.'
Cotton industry—"It is quite generally agreed that there has been a displacement, taking all processes of cotton manufacture into consideration, in the proportion of three to one."

Manufacture of flour—"Three-fourths of the manual labor has been displaced."
Furniture—"From one-half to three-fourths are now only required to do the same work."

Metals—"Manual labor decreases thirty-three and one-third per cent."
Musical instruments—"One boy does the work of twenty-five men."

Coal mining—"One hundred miners, getting out two hundred tons of coal per day." Two machines with fourteen men mine forty tons per day."

Paper—"A machine now run by four men and six girls will do the work formerly done by one hundred persons."

Railroad supplies—"There has been a displacement of fifty per cent of the labor formerly required."

Woolens—"Weaving, one machine equals six persons; in spinning, one machine equals twenty persons."

Wall paper—"The best evidence puts the displacement in the proportion of one hundred to one."

These quotations are taken from the report of 1886, pp. 85, 86 and 87, closing with July, 1885. It can be readily understood that since that time the displacement has been going on with undiminished intensity. In this same report the Commissioner states that on July 1, 1885, there were no less than 998,839 working people out of employment. Surely the indications are that this vast army of unemployed has not since decreased.

Is it not time that something should be done to reclaim from misery the many thousands of good and true men whose only fault is that they have stomachs to fill, with ready and willing hands to supply their wants, but continually receiving the stereotyped reply in answer to their appeals for work, "No job open."

HOURS OF LABOR.

Much can be done by the trade unions to relieve the distress caused by the displacement of labor by machinery. Within the past few years the trades unions have sought and in many instances secured a reduction in the hours of labor; for a brief period there has been a stagnation in this direction.

I appeal to the trades unions of the country to go on in this work. The answer to all opponents to the reduction of the hours of labor could well be given in these words: "That so long as there is one man who seeks employment and cannot obtain it, the hours of labor are too long."

And now you will permit me to direct your attention to facts of a more special nature: When in Columbus, Ohio, last year, the representatives of various trade unions met and devised means whereby their organizations could be protected from the onslaughts of insidious and unscrupulous enemies, each and every union was in direct peril. In consequence of the false teachings of ignorant and metaphysical reformers trade unions were denounced as effete and fossilized institutions, and every enemy of labor or superficial braggart had his hand and voice raised against them.

It affords me pleasure to be able to record not only the marvelous growth of trades unions, their large increase in membership, the nationalization of a number of the then fragmentary

unions; but more important still is the general recognition of the trades union form of organization, methods of transacting business and policy of independence and autonomy in all trade affairs.

It is of course difficult to exactly state the numerical strength of an organization such as ours whose divisions are yet in the course of formation. It must be borne in mind that the American Federation of Labor is composed of not only National and International Unions, but also of a number of State Federations, Federal Labor Unions, local Trade Unions, Central Labor Unions, Trades Councils and Assemblies.

As a matter of fact a few National Unions hold themselves aloof from the general movement of labor, or have not yet formally affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, yet all *bona fide* unions are united by a common polity, and all are agreed in according the Federation the hegemony and direction of the labor movement. It is my sincere wish that the day is not so far distant when every union in the land will be in full unison with us.

STATE BRANCHES.

It also becomes my duty to report to you that in my opinion the policy mapped out by the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor must be pursued by its State and sub-branches. I am led to this statement by the fact that there is a danger that State success. In all matters not essential there should be the largest scope; in others there must be a unity of purpose.

FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS.

Quite a number of Federal Labor Unions have been organized within the past year, and I recommend that greater efforts should be made to augment their number. There are not a few trades and callings in small towns, and even in large cities, which furnish employment to only a small number of people. Thousands, and hundreds of thousands, of such workers exist in these places and work under disadvantageous conditions simply because they are strangers to organization. That they exercise an influence upon the conditions of labor and frequently offset and neutralize the efforts of unions in other places will not be gainsaid. To organize such Federal Labor Unions should receive a considerable part of our attention. As soon as a sufficient number of a given trade or calling are gathered in Federal Labor Unions they should be required to attach themselves to the National Union of their trade, if one exists; and if none exist they should be required to form a National Union.

The Federal Labor Unions may prove valuable auxiliaries to the trade union movement if the requirements I have outlined are complied with, but if ignored they may prove a menace.

OUR OPPORTUNITIES.

The opportunities of the American Federation of Labor are that it may become a grand and powerful organization, fulfilling its great mission to bring the working people into the various organizations of the trades, to assist in the amelioration of their conditions, to raise mankind to a higher level, aspiring to a nobler civilization. It depends mainly upon the legislation of this convention.

It is noticeable that a great reaction and a steady disintegration is going on in most all organizations of labor which are not formed upon the basis that the experience of past failures teaches, namely, the benevolent as well as the protective features in the unions. There are times when the labor organizations are in no position to take a decisive stand in defense of the toilers, and apart from any considerations of humanity, the fact that the benevolent features of organization keep the members within the union is all-important to the permanency of the Unions and the consequent protection in all times that organization affords. I can scarcely find language strong enough in which to impress this fact upon your minds.

MUTUAL HELP.

Then again, in calling your attention to the disintegration going on, it becomes the duty of the unions to mutually assist each other when necessity for the same arises. Let us demonstrate to the working people that their hope is not lost, that we propose to practically help each other, and we shall restore confidence in the organization of labor and arrest the reaction which must otherwise even affect or overwhelm us.

WE MUST ADVANCE.

I am keenly alive to the fact, and it is patent to all observers, that there are many ills from which the working people of our country suffer. Laws that are passed frequently being of a discriminating character against those who possess nothing but their power to labor. It seems to me that the trades unions, apart from their work of attending to the matters of wages, hours of labor and unjust conditions of that labor, should more largely encompass their thoughts and actions in entering into the sphere and affairs of government.

It seems to me that we have a right to demand legislation in the interest of the wage-worker who form so large a majority, and certainly no unimportant factor to the well-being of our country.

The platitudes of our statesmen are hardly sufficient to lull us into a fancied happiness when we feel the real grievances we bear, and are conscious of the wrongs heaped upon us.

THE FEDERATION AND THE KNIGHTS.

There is no conflict necessary between the trades unions and the Knights of Labor. (Applause.) It is in the history of trades union movement, *i. e.* at the formation of the old Fed-

eration of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada, at Pittsburgh, in 1881, that the Knights were there largely represented. Let us hope that the near future will bring them back to the fold, so that all having the grand purposes in view, as understood and advocated by the American Federation of Labor, may work for their realization. There are none too ignorant to do the cause of labor service; there are none too intelligent who should not try. (Applause.)

There are several subjects matter upon which it becomes my duty to report, but deeming what I have already said sufficiently extended, I shall confine myself simply to the statement of a few.

TYPOGRAPHIA.

Early in the year the German-American Typographia made complaint that the Philadelphia *Tageblatt* had dealt unfairly with their members. They asked the Executive Council to issue a boycott against that paper. The Executive Council instead, instructed the President to enter into correspondence with the publishers, which resulted in the matter being left to the arbitration of the Executive Council. An amicable settlement satisfactory to both parties was effected, and the Philadelphia *Tageblatt* has since been a union office.

IRON MOLDERS.

The Iron Molders Union of North America found themselves some months ago attacked throughout the entire country by their employers, whose object seemed the destruction of the union; during the period of greatest danger, in the name of the Federation I tendered them the financial as well as the moral support of the trades unions. I am pleased to state that before it became necessary to call upon the unions to come to the aid of the Molders their trouble had been settled.

BREWERS.

The Executive Council were called upon by the Brewers' National Union to endeavor to effect a settlement between their members on strike in Philadelphia and their employers. The conditions for an amicable adjustment were upon the point of being achieved when some evil disposed persons interfered, neutralized our efforts and prevented its accomplishment.

There are a number of other matters of more or less importance to which your attention is invited, contained in the records.

OUR NAME.

During the past few months an effort has been made to confound the name of our organization with another, which really has no connection or affiliation with it. Even among many of my correspondents and our labor press they seem to forget that the title of our organization is

"THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR."

I am forced to make this statement by too many misnomers applied to us, often connecting us with matters with which we have no concern.

REVENUE.

During the year the fact has been forced upon my attention that the cause of several of the National Trades' Unions not being actually affiliated with the Federation is due to the present *per capita* of one-half cent per member per month, being to their mind too high. While I differ with that opinion, believing as I do that the best results cannot be accomplished unless a sufficient revenue is at hand to perform the duties required of your officers, yet the fact that objections exist to the what is termed too high *per capita* demanded by the laws of the Federation, and I recommend that you give this subject earnest consideration to first make the tax less onerous and yet sufficient for your Executive Council to perform their duties properly.

I find that on the formation of the State Branches of the Federation, many Federal Labor Unions and Local Unions pay a *per capita* to the former and entirely ignore the parent body. It will be your duty to investigate this matter and make such provisions as you may deem most advisable.

Owing to the fact that the Constitution only went into effect on March 1st I found myself in a peculiar predicament, charged with the duty of immediately after the convention entering upon the duties of the office of president, and devoting my efforts to the Federation. There was no money in the treasury to buy stationery, pay salary or publish the official journal, the payments of organizations having mostly been made during the latter part of the year. I, however set to work in the best way possible under the circumstances.

OFFICIAL JOURNAL.

In June last I issued the official journal which per resolution of the Executive Council was named the *Union Advocate*. As its editor I have studiously avoided the publication of objectionable matter, and while there has been no attempt at elegance, I have endeavored to make it what the Constitution calls for and its name signifies, an advocate of trades' unions.

It would be obviously unjust were I to close this report without mentioning the fact that being placed in the position above indicated, Cigarmakers' Union, No. 144, of New York city, cheerfully assisted me by giving me an office in their establishment for the whole year free of charge, and placing all their facilities at my disposal.

As is well known to you a little more than a month ago seven men were awaiting the execution of the death sentence in Illinois. The courts of the State and County had adjudged them guilty of a crime which prescribed the death penalty, the only power that stood between

them and death was vested in the Governor of that State. These condemned men boasted that they were Anarchists, but claimed that they were prompted in their acts (whatever they were) to benefit the whole working class. I deem it almost unnecessary to say to you that I am no Anarchist nor have any sympathy with or love for anarchy (Applause), its methods or its teachings, the calumnious statements of a few journals to the contrary notwithstanding. But I found a strong feeling prevailing among thousands that the condemned men were about to be executed in defense of the right of free speech and free assemblage and that if they were executed they would die martyrs to the cause of labor. As the representative of a great labor organization I was called upon and entreated to say a word, first, to save them from death, and second, to deprive their movement of the food upon which all spasmodic movements exist,—and martyrdom.

Believing that no harm could come to our organization I wrote a letter to the Governor and appealed to him in the interest of humanity, and to prevent an impetus being given to violent revolutionary movement, to extend clemency to these misguided men. I am opposed to capital punishment under all circumstances, (Applause), and in this case I acted from a dual motive of which the latter was not the least.

In the language of the poet let me say, that

"We yield to none in earnest love
Of Freedom's cause sublime:
We join the cry "Fraternity!"
We keep the march of time,
Order, Progress, Truth,
The cynic he may sneer,
The bad deny—but we rely
To see their triumph near.
No widow's groans shall load our cause,
Nor blood of brethren stain
We've won without such aid before,
And so we will again." (Loud applause.)

A copy of my letter as well as a type-written stenographic report of my speech to Governor Oglesby is herewith submitted.

CHARTERS HELD IN ABEYANCE.

A number of applications for charters against the issuance of which protests have been made are referred to you for consideration. I take this occasion to say that no charters have been issued to any body of men by the Executive Council when protests against the issuance of the same have been entered.

CONCLUSION.

And now in conclusion I would say to my colleagues of the Executive Council that I have often sorely felt the lack of opportunities for consulting with them in consequence of the vast distances separating us, frequent correspondence with them, however, has furnished me with many valuable suggestions for which today at the close of my official term I beg to tender my heartfelt acknowledgments.

To the trade unions of the entire country and their able champions and defenders, without whose aid and co-operation my humble efforts would have been comparatively ineffective, I beg to tender my sincere thanks for their assistance, courtesy and kindness.

To you, my Fellow Delegates, I would remark that upon you rests the continuity and improvement of the structure so ably founded. Let your deliberations be marked by the earnestness, the sincerity, and the courtesy due to men who have a common and a noble purpose to serve, so that the work of organizing, disciplining, and educating the vast hosts of labor may be accelerated, and may you be inspired by the confidence that in a few short years we shall have the satisfaction of witnessing the grand economic and social transformation for which the whole past history of our race has been one long, gradual preparation. Then, and then only, will be fully appreciated the full significance of the proud motto of the American Federation of Labor.

Labor Omnia Vincit!

Committee on Rules—Edward L. Daly, Henry Emerich, J. H. Burt, Harry Ogden.

Committee on Resolutions—P. F. Fitzpatrick, Chris Evans, Fred Haller, J. T. Elliott, Louis Riege.

Committee on Finance—John Kane, Robert Swallow, Edward Finkelstone.

Committee on Report of Executive Council—L. W. McDaniel, Joseph Wilkinson, Samuel Goldwater.

The Committee on Credentials next reported unanimously in favor of accepting the credentials of the Progressive Tailors, and on motion Mr. Fred Rubenkonig was added to the roll of delegates.

On motion, the Convention then adjourned to meet December 14, 1887, at 10 A. M.

The reading of the report was received with intense and prolonged applause. Chairman Weihe ordered it to be referred to the appropriate Committee on Report of Executive Council. Mr. Weihe retired from the chair in favor of President Gompers.

On motion, the Convention took a recess for ten minutes to enable President Gompers to select the various committees.

APPOINTMENT OF COMMITTEES.

After ten minutes' recess, the Convention came to order, whereupon the following committees were announced by the President:

Committee on Constitution—Wm. Weihe, P. J. McGuire, John McBride, R. H. Metcalfe, James Duncan.

SECOND DAY.—Morning Session.

Concordia Hall,

Baltimore, Md., December 14, 1887.

The second day's session of the American Federation of Labor was held in Concordia Hall. President Gompers called the Convention to order at 10 A. M. All the officers at their proper stations. Roll call showed the following absentees: J. S. Kirchner, Pender Wilkinson, McDonnell, McDaniel, Dillon, Burt, Kenney, McSweeney, Orem, A. M.

Kirchner, Elliott, Holland, Daly, Marden and Shipley.

A quorum being present, the Secretary read the minutes of yesterday's session. After a few minor additions, the minutes were adopted as read.

Moved, to go into executive session to hear the financial report of the Treasurer, G. Edmonston. Carried.

Mr. Edmonston then read his financial report.

REPORT OF TREASURER.

Baltimore, December 12, 1887.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Baltimore Session of the A. F. of L.

Gentlemen:—I herewith submit my report of the finances of the Federation during the year ending November 30, 1887.

In submitting it, it is necessary for me to state a simpler system of conducting the finances was apparent at the beginning of the year owing to the fact that the President and Treasurer were separated by considerable distance.

The Executive Council met at Philadelphia on April 11, 1887, and authorized me to advance such sums to the President as might be found necessary for him to conduct the business of his office properly, I to take his receipt temporarily, and exchange the same at the close of the month for a regular order and on vouchers for such expenditures.

The Executive Council also decided that all moneys from the affiliated organizations should be sent to the President, and he to transmit to me all sums over one hundred dollars.

The President has been in the habit of keeping the individual accounts between the organizations composing the Federation and consequently has had better opportunities of promptly notifying the proper officers of any neglect or delay in transmitting the funds. Again, the practice of keeping two separate accounts were thought to be a better protection to our officers in case of a loss by accident or otherwise.

While no thought of dishonesty pervaded the minds of any member of the Executive Council, yet a due regard for the sacredness of the trust reposed in us led us to the conclusion that a strict and rigid financial system is the only safety of any organization.

In closing my official relations, I beg leave to extend my sincerest thanks to my associates, the members of the Executive Council, for uniform kindness and assistance in the discharge of my official duties.

RECEIPTS.

1886.			Operators and Tailors, Boston, C. F.	\$ 5 00
Dec. 11.	Balance on hand at close of Convention, Columbus, O. \$160 52	Mar. 15.	Brotherhood Carpenters, &c., Reports	10 00
1887.			New York Barbers' Union, C. F.	5 00
Jan. 15.	Brooklyn Progressive Musical Union, C. F.	Mar. 16.	Ill. Miners' Prot. Ass'n., P. C.	13 73
Jan. 31.	Oystermen's Trade Union, C. F.	Mar. 19.	Hudson Co. Trades' Ass'y., C. F.	5 00
Feb. 3.	Geo. Herwegh, Ass'n., C. F.		Ill. Miners' Prot. Ass'n., Reports	5 00
Feb. 11.	Jour. Bakers' Nat'l. Union, C. F.	Mar. 22.	Prog. Musical Union, C.F.	5 00
Feb. 12.	U. Umbrella and Walking Stick U. C. F.	Mar. 24.	Oystermen's Trade Union, P. C.	75
	Brotherhood Carpenters, &c., P. C.	Mar. 30.	Cigarmakers' Int. U. of A., C. F.	5 00
Feb. 19.	Int. Boatmen's Union, C. F. U. Silk Ribbon Weavers, C. F.	April 7.	Umbrella and Walking Stick Dressers, P. C.	84
Mar. 3.	Waiters' Union, C. F.		Nat'l. Brewers' Union, P.C.	15 95
Mar. 4.	Nat'l. Brewers' Union, C.F.		Meridian Hod Carriers, C.F.	5 00
	Capitol Labor Union, C. F.		Conn. State Branch, C.F.	5 00
Mar. 10.	Beer Drivers' Union, C. F.	April 13.	Silk Ribbon Weavers, P.C.	1 05
Mar. 14.	Muskegon Barbers' Union, C. F.	April 17.	German-American Typo. C.F.	5 00
		April 24.	Archit'l. Pattern Makers, C. F.	5 00

April 24.	Bar Tenders Prot. Union, C. F.	\$ 5 00	July 30.	Cigar Makers' Int. Union of A. P. C.	224 56
April 24.	Cigarmakers' Int. Union, P. C.	114 28	July 10.	Muskegon Barbers' Union, P. C.	10
April 24.	Linemen's Benevolent and Protective Union, C.F.	5 00	Aug. 1.	Sub. to Union Advocate.	18 85
May 2.	Waiters' Union, P. C.	5 50	Aug. 10.	Int. Bhd. Boiler Mkr., C.F.	5 00
May 4.	Carbuilders' Union, C. F.	5 00	Aug. 12.	Bhd. Carpenters, etc., P.C.	127 33
May 5.	Granite Cutters' Nat. Union, reports	7 50	Aug. 14.	Muskegon Barbers' Union, P. C.	10
May 9.	Ohio Miners' Aml. Ass'n., P. C.	46 50	Aug. 14.	Hod Carriers, E. Saginaw, C. F.	5 00
	Operators and Tailors, Boston, P. C.	1 00	Aug. 14.	Milwaukee Federated T. C., C. F.	5 00
	Muskegon Barbers, P. C.	16	Aug. 19.	Archit'l Sheet Iron Council, C. F.	50
May 10.	Cosmopolitan W'km'n's Assn. C. F.	5 00	Aug. 19.	Clothing Cutters, N. Y., C. F.	5 00
	Int. Boatmen's Union, P.C.	7 50	Aug. 19.	Hudson Co. Trades Assm., bly, Constitutions	1 00
May 12.	New Y. Bartenders' Union, C. F.	5 00	Aug. 19.	Ill. Miners' Prot. Ass'n., P. C.	19 45
	Ill. Miners' Prot. Assn., P.C.	22 41	Aug. 21.	Philadelphia Central Labor Union, C. F.	5 00
May 17.	N. Y. Barbers' Union, P.C.	2 19	Aug. 21.	Meridan Barbers' Union, C. F.	5 00
May 18.	Stereotypers' Union, N. Y., C. F.	5 00	Aug. 22.	Int. Boatmen's Union, P. C.	5 00
	Manf. Shoemakers' Union, C. F.	5 00	Aug. 22.	St. Louis Trades Assembly, C. F.	5 00
May 20.	Hudson Co. Trades' Assembly, P. C.	1 00	Aug. 23.	Linemen's Union, P. C.	1 20
May 21.	Bartenders' Union No. 2, Brooklyn, C. F.	5 00	Aug. 23.	Ohio Miners' Aml. Assn., P. C.	21 00
May 24.	German-American Typo. P.C.	5 00	Aug. 25.	German-Amer. Typo, P. C.	5 00
May 28.	Brewers' Nat. Union, P.C.	17 05		Sub. to Union Advocate.	4 50
May 28.	Brewers' Nat. Union, P.C.	17 40	Sept. 14.	Cigar Makers' Int. Union of A. P. C.	109 83
May 30.	Architectural Sheet Iron and Cornice Workers, C. F.	5 00	Sept. 14.	Car Builders' Union, Allegheny City, P. C.	1 00
June 2.	Umbrella and Walking Stick Dressers, P. C.	59		Muskegon Barbers' Union, P. C.	10
June 8.	Waiters' Union, P. C.	5 50		Umbrella and Walking Stick Dressers, P. C.	2 71
	Tin and Sheet Iron Workers' Council, C. F.	5 00	Sept. 15.	Brotherhood Boiler Makers, P. C.	5 00
June 11.	Ill. Miners' Prot. Assn. P.C.	17 07	Sept. 18.	Int. Furn. Workers, P. C.	15 00
	Int. Furn. Workers, C.F.	5 00	Sept. 18.	Ont. Furn. Workers, P. C.	15 00
June 11.	Phoenix Mut. Union, C.F.	5 00	Sept. 22.	Metal Workers of N. A., P. C.	4 39
June 11.	Phoenix Mut. Union, P. C.	14	Sept. 22.	Cosmopolitan Workmen's Association, P. C.	10
June 16.	Ohio Min. Aml. Assn., P. C.	20 10		Oystermen's Trade Union, P. C.	6 00
June 17.	Muskegon Barbers' Union, P. C.	10		United Organ Makers, C. F.	5 00
June 18.	Bakers' Nat. Union, P. C.	60 00		Sub. to Union Advocate.	9 50
June 29.	Int. Boatmen's Union, P. C.	2 50	Oct. 1.	Ohio Miners' Aml. Assn., P. C.	24 00
June 29.	Oystermen's Trade Union, P. C.	2 25	Oct. 6.	Archit'l Cornice Makers, Philadelphia, P. C.	50
June 29.	Silk Ribbon Weavers, P.C.	1 05	Oct. 15.	Brewers' Nat'l Union, P. C.	67 40
June 29.	Cosmop'l Workmen Assn.	05		Jour. Tailors' Nat'l Union, C. F.	5 00
June 29.	Sub. to Union Advocate.	18 50	Oct. 17.	Jour. Tailors' Nat'l Union, P. C.	5 00
July 2.	German-American Typo. Union, P. C.	5 00		Organ Makers' Union, P.C.	5 00
July 5.	Int. Furn. Workers, P. C.	15 00		Muskegon Barbers' Union, P. C.	08
July 5.	Arch. Cornice Mkr., P. C.	50	Oct. 19.	German-Amer. Typo, P. C.	10 00
July 5.	Metal Wrks. Union of N. A., C. F.	5 00	Oct. 20.	N. J. State Federation, C.F.	5 00
July 9.	Phoenix Assn., P. C.	16	Oct. 20.	Waiters' Union, P. C.	11 00
July 12.	Car Bldrs' Assn., Allegheny City, P. C.	1 00	Oct. 22.	Ohio Miners' Aml. Assn., P. C.	22 00
July 16.	Nat. Brewers' Union, P. C.	17 43		Salt City Association, C. F.	5 00
July 16.	Brotherhood of Carpenters, etc., C. F.	5 00		Federal Lab. Union, S. Bend, C. F.	5 00
July 16.	Clothing Pressmen's Union, C. F.	5 00		Cosmopolitan Workmen's Association, P. C.	05
July 18.	Jour. Barbers' Union, N. Y., P. C.	6 76	Oct. 24.	International Boatmen's Union, P. C.	5 00
July 18.	Ill. Miners' Prot. Assn., P. C.	11 41	Oct. 26.	Bakers' National Union, P.C.	60 00
July 22.	Ohio Miners' Aml. Assn., P. C.	24 00			
July 24.	German-Amer. Typo, P. C.	5 00			
July 26.	Tin & Sheet Iron Workers, Camden, P. C.	23			
July 26.	Beer Drivers' Union, P. C.	9 11			

Oct. 28.	Tailors' Progressive Union, C. F.	\$ 5 00	Convention hall	\$ 3 00
Oct. 31.	Brotherhood Carpenters, etc., P. C.	128 31	Commission for advertisers	1 50
	Textile Prog. Union of N.A., P. C.	4 00	Total	\$2,074 39
	Ill. Miners' Prog. Un., P.C.	16 43	Cash on hand Nov. 30, 1887	25 95
	Ill. Miners' Prog. Un., P.C.	14 87		
	Sub. to Union Advocate	2 50	Sum total	\$2,100 34
Nov. 1.	Jour. Tailors' Nat'l Union, P. C.	5 00	Signed,	G. EDMONSTON, Treasurer.
Nov. 3.	Organ Makers' Nat'l Union, P. C.	06		
	Ohio Miners' Aml. Assn., P. C.	30 00		
Nov. 9.	Operators and Tailors, P.C.	1 00		
Nov. 10.	Muskegon Barbers, P. C.	10		
Nov. 16.	Internat'l Furniture Workers, P. C.	28 00		
	Clothing Pressmen's Union, P. C.	54		
Nov. 17.	Architect'l Cornice Makers, P. C.	50		
	Phila. Central Union, D. F.	10 00		
Nov. 25.	Oystermen's Trade Union, P. C.	9 00		
Nov. 26.	Cleveland Central Lab. Union, C. F.	5 00		
	Hod Carriers, Pottstown, Pa., C. F.	5 00		
Nov. 30.	Tailors' Prog. Union, P.C.	4 00		
	Cosmopolitan Workmen's Association, P. C.	05		
		\$2,100 34		

NOTE:—C. F., Charter fee. P. C., per Capita.

EXPENDITURES.

Postage	\$ 76 30
Express	3 45
President's Salary	1,000 00
Clerk hire and help	188 91
Incidentals	9 20
Printing	498 90
Stationery	17 19
Fuel	6 05
Gas	10 02
Telegrams	2 85
E. M. Pfleger, services	6 00
Advertising in Columbus, O.	7 00
C. Balz, rent of hall	1 50
Seal, electro, and embossing	7 50
Stove, lumber and fixtures	13 45
Rubber stamp	1 50
Five wood cuts (engraved)	9 37
J. S. Kirchner, services	6 00
Cost of heading of Union Advocate	7 00
P. J. McGuire, expressage of office materials, etc.	9 65
S. Gompers, expenses to Philadelphia	5 00
G. Edmonston, expenses to Philadelphia	15 00
S. Gompers, expenses to I. T. U. Convention, Buffalo, N. Y.	52 00
S. Gompers, expenses to New Jersey Federation	2 50
J. W. Smith, Springfield, Ill., attending E. C.	89 75
S. Gompers, attending E. C.	10 00
Charter fee returned Musical Prot. Union	5 00
Charter fee returned Pattern Makers. Desk for clerk	2 00
S. Gompers, traveling to Paterson, N. J.	1 50
J. Duncan, Baltimore, Md., hiring	

Convention hall \$ 3 00
Commission for advertisers..... 1 50
Total \$2,074 39
Cash on hand Nov. 30, 1887..... 25 95

Sum total \$2,100 34
Signed, G. EDMONSTON, Treasurer.

On motion, the report was referred to the Committee on Finance.

S. Barend moved that we do now rise from executive session, and take up in open session, the consideration of the credentials of the Journeymen Shoemakers' Protective Union No. 1, of New York. Mr. Gompers called Mr. McBride to the chair, whereupon Mr. Gompers made a statement in regard to the case of the Shoemakers.

After a lengthy discussion on the advisability of public and open sessions, it was decided to have open sessions, and to rise at once from executive session.

Mr. Daley moved that during the consideration of the case of the Shoemakers' Union, the reporters of the daily press be excluded. Carried.

THE CASE OF THE NEW YORK SHOEMAKERS.

President Gompers ordered the Sergeant-at-Arms to introduce Mr. Robert Sheldon, delegate of the New York Journeymen Shoemakers' Union No. 1, to make full explanation of the case of his union.

George Block, in order to open the question, moved that a charter from the Federation be granted Shoemakers' Union No. 1. The privileges of the floor were then granted to Mr. Sheldon, who made an explanation of the action and position of his organization.

Amendment was offered that the case be placed in the hands of the Executive Council, with power.

After a prolonged discussion pro and con, the previous question was ordered.

A motion was made to lay the whole subject on the table. Lost. Ayes, 29; nays, 23.

The question recurred on the original amendment, to refer the subject to the Executive Council. Lost. Ayes, 21; nays, 27.

The original motion, to grant a charter to the Shoemakers' Union No. 1. Lost. Ayes, 10; nays, 36.

The reason for refusing to grant a charter is that the Federation is opposed to the admission of any organized body that will not live up to laws of its own making, and furthermore, the Federation will not encourage scabbing in any form.

It was decided that the Secretary and two members of the Executive Council be appointed as a Press Committee.

On motion, it was unanimously decided to raise the executive session, and to open the doors to the reporters and the public. Executive session raised.

The chair decided the report of the Committee on Rules to be next in order. The Committee on Rules reported. (See report below.)

Mr. Ogden moved that in Rule 11, as reported by the committee, the words "in the same session," after the word "made," be stricken out. The previous question was called

for. President Gompers notified the delegates that the adoption of the previous question carried with it the killing off of all unadopted amendments. Previous question withdrawn.

The question recurred on the report of the committee as amended. A motion to adjourn was then made, and withdrawn, to give place to a motion that the report of the Committee on Rules be laid over until 2:30 P. M. The motion to lay over was adopted.

On motion the convention adjourned until 2:30 P. M.

SECOND DAY.—Afternoon Session.

At 2:30 P. M. the Convention reassembled, with President Gompers in the chair. Call of roll showed the following absentees: Fitzpatrick, Metcalfe, Daley, Marden, Rubenkonig, McDaniel, Ogden, Wiener, Seusser, A. M. Kirchner, McSweeney and McDonnell.

On motion the absence of J. P. McDonnell, of the New Jersey State Federation, was excused.

The special order of the session being the report of the Committee on Rules, the report of the Committee was then taken up and read *seriatim*.

The report of the Committee on Rules, after various amendments, was adopted as a whole, and reads as follows:

RULES AS ADOPTED.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Convention:

Your Committee on Rules hereby present the following rules for the government of the session:

1. The time of the meetings of the Congress shall be as follows: On the first day, to assemble at noon; on other days at 9 A. M. Adjourn at 12. Reassemble at 2, and adjourn at 6 P. M., and at the appointed time the chairman shall call the Congress to order.
2. During the hours of meeting, no delegate will be allowed to leave the room, unless on special business.
3. Every delegate, when he rises to speak, shall respectfully address the chair. While speaking, he shall confine himself to the question.
4. Should two or more rise to speak at the same time, the chair shall decide who is entitled to the floor.
5. No delegate shall interrupt another in his remarks, unless to call him to order for words spoken.
6. If a delegate, while speaking, be called to order, he shall, at the request of the chair, take his seat until the question of order is determined, when, if permitted, he may proceed again.
7. A delegate shall not speak more than once on the same subject or question until all who

wish to speak shall have had an opportunity to do so; nor more than twice without permission from the house; nor any longer than five minutes at one time, without permission.

8. A question shall not be subject to debate until it has been seconded and stated from the chair, and it shall be reduced to writing at the request of any member.

9. When a question is before the house, no motion shall be in order, except to adjourn, for the previous question, to postpone indefinitely, to postpone for a certain time, to divide, to commit, or to amend, which motions shall severally have precedence in the order herein arranged.

10. A motion to lay on the table shall be put without debate.

11. A motion for a reconsideration shall not be received, unless made by a delegate who voted in the majority, and shall require a two-third vote.

12. Any delegate who shall misbehave himself in the meeting, or disturb the harmony or order thereof, either by abusive, disorderly or profane language, or shall refuse obedience to the presiding officer, shall be admonished of his offense from the chair, and if he offend again, he shall be excluded from the room for the session, and afterward dealt with as the Congress may determine.

13. Any delegate who may not be present when the last name on the roll has been called, shall be marked absent by the Secretary.

14. All questions not herein provided for shall be decided according to Cushing's Manual.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

1. Roll call of officers and delegates.
2. Reading minutes of previous day's session.
3. Report of Committee on Credentials.
4. Reports of officers.
5. Reports of regular committees.
6. Reports of special committees.
7. Unfinished business.
8. New business.
9. Election and installment of officers.
10. Good of the Federation.

Respectfully, the Committee,
EDWARD L. DALEY,
HARRY M. OGDEN,
J. H. BURTT,
HENRY EMRICH,
HUGO MILLER.

L. W. McDaniel, Chairman of the Committee on Report of Executive Council, asked for the reference of certain parts of the report to three additional special committees. After some discussion amendment was offered that the Committee on Reports of Officers be increased from three to nine. On motion the amendment prevailed, the original motion having been withdrawn.

Communications were then called for. The following letter was then read:

GREETINGS FROM ENGLAND.

Dear Sir:—I have received your letter and its enclosures dated the 18th inst, with great pleasure.

I have read the resolutions passed at the First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, and am much pleased to see the solid, sober and thoroughly practical views on the labor question expressed in them, especially the determination to keep up trade unionism on its old foundation as opposed to some policies that are now being advocated for mixing it up with other movements.

I sincerely hope that your meeting in December will re-affirm the principles previously declared and that trade unionism may increase and prosper in the United States.

If the resolutions I have named are to be taken as indicative of your general views and policy, I do not think we can offer you any advice, as you do not need it.

I entirely reciprocate your sentiments as to the friendly association between the labor parties of the Old and the New Worlds, and shall be very pleased to do all in my power to promote this desirable object.

We propose holding an International Trade Union in London in November, 1888, and if the American unions decide to be represented, they may depend upon receiving the heartiest welcome.

Kindly convey to the delegates assembled at your Convention the most kindly sentiments of sympathy from their English brethren in the labor movement. I am,

Yours very truly,

HENRY BROADHURST, Secretary.

To Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor.

On motion, the communication was ordered to be spread on the minutes, and referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Letters were read from the Russian-American National League, and the National Typographical Union of France. Received and referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

MILWAUKEE BREWERS' TROUBLES.

A telegram from Louis Herbrand, National Secretary of the Brewers' National Union, was received, announcing trade troubles among the journeymen brewers of Milwaukee, and asking the Federation to take immediate action on the subject. On motion, the telegram was received and referred to a special committee of

three, consisting of Messrs. Riege, Applehagen and Block.

A communication from the New Haven Trades Council, regarding local Councils and State Federations. Received and referred to the Committee on Constitution.

Harry M. Ogden, delegate of the International Typographical Union, offered the following resolution, which was received with tumultuous applause:

THE NEW YORK "SUN" BOYCOTT.

WHEREAS, By what we believe harmful legislation of certain labor organizations, an attempt has been made to injure the standing of the New York Sun;

WHEREAS, That institution has been faithful in all its relations with the local and International Typographical Unions; therefore

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor hereby declare the New York Sun an office above reproach in its fairness to associated union labor.

Moved, the rules be suspended for the adoption of the above resolution. Objection was raised on the ground that to suspend the rules to pass resolutions would furnish a bad precedent. The motion to suspend the rules was lost, and the resolution took the usual course and was referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

President Gompers announced that Mr. W. R. Cremer, of London, England, one of the Arbitration Delegates of the British House of Commons, was in waiting in the ante-room, and desired to address the Convention.

On motion of Mr. Ogden, the rules were suspended and the privileges of the floor were extended to Mr. W. R. Cremer. Messrs. Weihe and Fitzpatrick were appointed a committee to conduct Mr. Cremer to the platform.

The following letter from Halley Stewart, M. P., a colleague of Mr. Cremer, was read previous to Mr. Cremer's address:

LETTER FROM HALLEY STEWART, M. P.

Washington, D. C., Dec. 8, 1887.

My Dear Sir:—I greatly regret that I am unable to accept your kind and courteous invitation to attend the annual Convention at Baltimore on the 13th instant.

It would have given me sincere pleasure to make the acquaintance of the delegates of the American Federation of Labor, and to exchange views with them on the claims of labor and the claims of arbitration. The two questions are not distantly related. In the Old World, at any rate, by far the greater burden of war rests upon the laboring classes, whose toil furnishes the sinews of war while its lasts, and the interest of war debt when the strife is over, and the main body of the heroes who are offered in sacrifice on the war altar erected by the stupidity of monarchs and statesmen. The people can bring this cruel war system to an end. We of the old country have come to you

of the new country because you have set us a better example. The working classes of Great Britain and the Continent of Europe are groaning beneath military burdens which are a disgrace to civilization, a libel on religion and the curse of mankind. And we have come to your people, who have adopted a more excellent way, to ask you to join hands with us in creating a new tribunal which shall be so strong in moral force that the despotism of statecraft shall be shattered by its power.

Yours sincerely,

HALLEY STEWART.

Samuel Gompers, Esq.

Communication of Mr. Halley received and ordered spread on the minutes.

REMARKS OF MR. W. R. CREMER.

Mr. Cremer, who is a trade-unionist, then addressed the Convention as follows:

Mr. President and Fellow-Workmen—Workingmen is the title I like to address you by; for, though a member of Parliament, still in my heart I am a workingman. We had in the last Parliament twelve members who went from the mines and factories to represent the people in Parliament. It was a new revelation to the privileged classes. The aristocracy didn't understand it, and began to regard it as the beginning of the end. Home rule in Ireland has my hearty support, and all the workingmen in Great Britain's House of Parliament are Home Rulers. (Applause.) We hope to go on increasing the number of workingmen in Parliament until the workingmen in Great Britain take their proper position. What appears to us so strange is that so few of you—the workingmen—are represented at Washington. We, in view of your general franchise, thought one hundred or more, at least, of workingmen would be in Congress. (Applause.) It is a marvel to us that it is not so, and we go back as ignorant of the cause as we came. But we hope the time will come when you will be so represented. I don't know how it is with you, but my experience for twenty years shows the necessity of workingmen being represented in legislative halls. Most of the members of Parliament are clad in fine linen, were born with silver spoons in their mouths and have been buyers of the commodity of labor. It is there the great social problem will have to be settled—in legislative halls. I am a trades unionist. I retain my connection with them, and keep in active touch with workmen so that my sympathies won't be cooled. An important question in England is that of

SHORTENING THE HOURS OF LABOR.

"I was at the convention at Swansea, where arrangements were made for a great international convention to be held shortly. The great question will be to reduce hours to eight. We have succeeded in reducing hours to nine, with a half holiday on Saturday. All over Europe is a great desire for less hours. This question will have to be settled at this Convention in the coming fall. The question how it will be done, whether by public opinion and moral influence or otherwise, will be settled. I hope the American Federation will be represented at that convention. I am much pleased to speak to this representative body. I regret that my colleagues have all returned to the old country,

and I am left somewhat like the last rose of summer.

"The object for which we came to this country is arbitration between nations. You can hardly understand how important to us is the war question. Possibly you can realize it when I tell you that during the last hundred years four dollars out of every five which the British workman has paid in taxes has been absorbed in war institutions, and paying war debts. As workmen we desire to arbitrate our differences, and so, we think that nations ought to arbitrate their differences. We shall, therefore, be glad for you to influence your representatives at Washington to frame a treaty of arbitration between the two English speaking nations. Two hundred and thirty-three members of the British Parliament agree to co-operate in referring difficulties to arbitration. You ask why we didn't go to France and Germany. I am sorry to say the people of France are still led by the nose by so-called statesmen, and they tell the people they must increase the army to prevent invasion. So, crafty statesmen there go on increasing their army. By-and-bye, they may see things as clearly as you do. But, in the meantime, we come to you to assist us in bringing about international arbitration. We want to lead the van in this great arbitration movement, and we want to prove to continental Europe that it is eminently practical for England and the United States to enter into an arbitration treaty. If you are desirous of helping the people of the Old World out of their terrible condition, you will bring to bear upon the politicians your influence for arbitration, and the treaty the twelve members of Parliament came across the ocean to accomplish will be made, and future generations will bless us."

IN SYMPATHY WITH ARBITRATION.

President Gompers then said: "I think I reflect the sentiments of the delegates when I say we are in sympathy with the arbitration movement. I think it is not from a want of patriotism that we say we are opposed to destroying so many of the world's producers in war. I have no doubt this Federation will take some measures to aid you, Mr. Cremer, and we trust the day will not be far distant when, in truth and fact, we shall have a federation of the world and the brotherhood of man."

Mr. Cremer then retired.

RESOLUTIONS READ AND REFERRED.

The presentations of resolutions was next declared in order.

Geo. G. Block—No. 1. In regard to police interference at public meetings of workmen. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Geo. G. Block—No. 2. To organize Bakers' Unions. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Joseph Wilkerson—No. 3. A resolution against having two local or national trade organizations in the same jurisdiction. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

O. A. Seusser—No. 4. Urging adoption of eight-hour workday. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Julius Wiener and Edw. J. Pender—No. 5. To denounce the action of the New York Ballroom and Barkeepers' Association in its outrageous employment of non-union men. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Wm. Mullen—No. 6. To print name of American Federation of Labor on all circulars,

etc., of affiliated bodies. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

O. A. Seusser—No. 7. House Bill, No. 11,185. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

O. A. Seusser—No. 8. House Bill No. 11,186. The bills 11,185 and 11,186, one introduced in the House of Representatives to prevent speculation in the coal lands and to relieve the laboring classes and to improve their condition by the incorporation of trade unions. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

J. McBride—No. 9. Against admitting into the Federation any union which has been suspended by any national or international organization. Referred to Committee on Constitution.

Louis Riege—No. 10. State charters. Referred to Committee on Constitution.

Joseph Wilkerson—No. 11. Changes in Constitution. Referred to Committee on Constitution.

Wm. Martin—No. 12. Against resolutions of sympathy and in favor of practical help. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

H. Emrich—No. 13. Changes in Constitution. Referred to Committee on Constitution.

H. Emrich—No. 14. In favor of independent political action. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

H. Emrich—No. 15. Changes in Constitution. Referred to Committee on Constitution.

E. L. Daley—No. 16. To encourage all union labels. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

H. F. Trapper—No. 17. To endorse the label of the Umbrella, Pipe and Cane Workers. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

REPORT ON MILWAUKEE BREWERS TROUBLES.

The special committee of three on the Milwaukee Brewers' case reported as follows:

WHEREAS, The Local Union No. 9 of Journeymen Brewers and Malsters, a Local Union affiliated with the National Brewers' Union, in their endeavor to help the Malsters of the commission malt houses of Milwaukee to obtain a fair and acceptable scale of wages, asking only \$60 per month, while the brewery malt houses pay from \$70 to \$78 per month, have been refused recognition by the Beer Brewers' Association of Milwaukee, and,

WHEREAS, The Beer Brewers' Association of Milwaukee has refused to confer with a representative of the National Brewers' Union in regard to a peaceable settlement by arbitration; be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to the Second annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled at Baltimore, December 13, 1887, pledge our moral support to the Local Union No. 9, of Milwaukee, by advising our constituents throughout the country to abstain from the use of all Milwaukee

Beer, and all beer brewed from Milwaukee scab malt, until Local Union No. 9 of Milwaukee has been recognized by the Beer Brewers' Association of that city, and their just demands acceded to.

RESOLVED, To take similar action in similar cases, as having occurred since, in other cities.

RESOLVED, That we appeal to each and every labor organization in the country to adopt resolutions, demanding of their members to abstain from the use of the beverage from the above designated breweries.

E. APPLEHAGEN,
GEORGE BLOCK,
LOUIS C. P. RIEGE.

Moved that the report of the committee be adopted as read. Amended that it be referred for enforcement to the incoming Executive Council. After a long debate on the question of boycotts in general, the amendment was then put to a vote and adopted. The motion as adopted was next placed before the Convention, and the report of the Committee was then adopted by a majority vote and referred for enforcement to the incoming Executive Council.

James H. Nutt moved that no resolutions except those of a general character be entertained after this day's session. Amended to read "after twelve o'clock noon to-morrow."

The amendment prevailed by a vote of 33 ayes to 8 nays. The motion as amended was adopted.

President Gompers announced the following six persons as an addition to the Committee on Report of the Executive Council, viz.: John S. Kirchner, John A. Orem, William Mullen, Thomas Holland, John H. Kenny, and Joseph Shipley.

The following supplemental resolutions were then offered and referred to the Committee on Resolutions:

Edward Finklestone—No. 18. Cigar Makers' International Union Label.

William Mullen—No. 19. In favor of compulsory education and that the science of government be taught in public schools.

An invitation to attend the annual ball of the Journeymen Brewers' Union of Baltimore was read and accepted.

On motion, adjourned to meet December 15, 1887, at 9 A. M.

THIRD DAY—Morning Session.

Concordia Hall,
Baltimore, Md., December 15, 1887.

The convention was called to order promptly at 9 A. M., President Samuel Gompers in the Chair.

Roll-call showed as absentees: Linsi, Edmonston, Fallis, McBride, Holland, Pender, Elliott, Daley, Marden, Wilkinson, McDaniel, Ogden, Ackermann, Applehagen, McSweeney and Swallow.

Minutes of the second day's session were read and adopted.

On motion, Mr. Shipley was excused from steady attendance owing to ill health.

Mr. Block moved the Convention extend a cordial invitation to Prof. Richard Ely, of Hopkins University to attend the sessions of this Convention.

Communications were read from the Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union No. 1, of New York, protesting against admission of the New York Stereotypers' Association to the Federation; from the Tobacco Workers' Union No. 1, of Detroit, Mich., asking assistance of the Federation to organize the tobacco workers of America. Both communications were ordered to be received and filed.

Telegrams were read from J. P. McDonnell, Paterson, N. J., regretting inability to attend, and sending greetings to the Convention; from John Wheeler, President, and Wm. North, Secretary of the Denver Trades Assembly, extending sympathy of the Denver Trades Assembly to the work of the Federation. The telegrams were received and ordered filed.

A letter was received from the Boiler-makers' International Union explaining the absence of the delegate elected by their society, owing to sudden illness.

A letter from Isaac Wood was read requesting the privilege of the floor as a representative of the Eagle Publishing Company, of New York.

On motion of Mr. Finklestone the privilege was granted.

Mr. Wood stepped to the platform and explained that the association he represented is a co-operative society, started for the purpose of publishing a daily labor paper in New York city, and he urged upon the Convention the importance of aiding the enterprise.

On motion, the Convention recommended the delegates to bring the subject to the attention of their members.

The introduction of resolutions was then declared to be in order, and resolutions were offered as follows and referred to the appropriate committees:

FURTHER RESOLUTIONS READ AND REFERRED.

J. S. Kirchner—No. 20. Chinese Immigration. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Schilling—No. 21. Employment of U. S. bands. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Finklestone—No. 22. Political action. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Pender—No. 23. Oyster culture. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Daley—No. 24. Shoemakers' labels, etc. Referred to Committee on Labels.

J. J. Meloy—No. 25. Incompetent masters of vessels. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Edward Daley—No. 26. Douglass shoes. Referred to Committee on Labels.

Edward Daley—No. 27. Thanks to Press. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Wilkinson—No. 28. Smuggled clothing. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Jas. Duncan—No. 29. The Blair Educational Bill. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

O. A. Seusser—No. 30. Progressive Tailors' label. Referred to Committee on Labels.

Jas. Duncan—No. 31. New York Tribune boycott. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

T. A. Trimbath—No. 32. In regard to organization. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Ed. Finklestone—No. 33. Indorsement of labels. Referred to Committee on Labels.

Geo. Block—No. 34. Organization on the Pacific Coast. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Hugo Miller—No. 35. German Printers' label. Referred to Committee on Labels.

O. A. Seusser—No. 36. Label of tight work Coopers. Referred to Committee on Labels.

Mr. Block asked for information in regard to the work of the local Federation on the Pacific Coast, and requested that every effort be made to strengthen that Federation and bring it within the A. F. of L.

The following communication was read from Hon. Martin A. Foran, Congressman from Ohio:

CONGRESSMAN FORAN'S LETTER.

House of Representatives, U. S.,
Washington, D. C., December 14, 1887.
Mr. Samuel Gompers, Baltimore, Md.:

Dear Sir and Friend—Your note reached me some days ago. I fully intended to be with you on Tuesday, but yesterday morning my wife was taken suddenly ill, so ill that I could not leave the city; she is not much better yet.

This trouble disorganized me considerably, so that I forgot to telegraph you. I am very sorry indeed, that I was prevented from going over, for all my sympathies are with you and the organization over which you preside. I have always regarded the Trade Unions as the corner stone and sheet anchor of the Organized Labor of the United States. We can always rely and fall back upon the organized trades. Every labor organization, of course, which seeks the betterment of the toilers' condition is to be commended; but unfortunately, there is always trouble and difficulty when the politician and non-producer obtains entrance into a labor organization. We have not found out just where the line should be drawn. For the present, I am strongly of the opinion it should be drawn at the wage worker. I will watch your proceedings with great interest. I have faith and confidence in your organization, and in the wisdom and discretion of those who compose it. I trust much good will result from your meeting.

Yours, etc.,

M. A. FORAN.

Communication of Congressman Foran was ordered received and spread upon the minutes.

On motion it was resolved to create a committee of three on labels, boycotts and organization.

Mr. Wilkinson was called to the Chair. President Gompers announced the appointment of the following:

Committee on Labels, Boycotts and Organization—Daniel McLaughlin, Hugo Miller and J. H. Mahoney.

All resolutions relating to labels and boycotts were referred to this committee.

Committee on Credentials reported that the following telegram had been presented as credentials of E. W. Oyster as delegate of the International Typographical Union:

Nashville, Tenn., December 14, 1887.

H. M. Ogden, Eutaw House:

I hereby appoint E. W. Oyster as delegate to Federation of Labor.

WM. AMISON, Pres't I. T. U.

The Committee on Credentials unanimously reported unfavorably on the above credentials, on the ground that said credentials do not appear in proper form.

After a long discussion, Mr. McGuire moved that the reception of E. W. Oyster's credentials be deferred until the receipt of credentials signed in proper form by the President and Secretary-Treasurer of the International Typographical Union. Carried by a vote of 29 yeas to 11 nays.

Motion was made to reconsider the vote just taken; motion made to lay the motion to reconsider on the table. Motion to lay on the table prevailed.

Mr. Haller offered Resolution No. 38, in regard to internal revenue tax on cigars. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Committee on Report of Officers asked for further time.

Mr. McBride offered Resolution 39, in regard to memory of the late Thos. A. Armstrong. Referred to committee.

Moved to take a recess until 2:30 P. M. in order to give the committees time to work. Carried.

Recess taken until 2:30 P. M.

THIRD DAY—Afternoon Session.

The Convention was called to order promptly at 2:30 P. M. by President Gompers.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll, and the President and all the officers were found at their posts. Absentees, Holland and Marden.

The Committee on Constitution announced itself ready to report. Mr. Weihe, Chairman of the Committee, read the report as a whole, and it was then ordered to take it up *seriatim* and that all future reports shall take the same course.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CONSTITUTION.

The Convention then proceeded to the consideration of the report. The Preamble was first read.

Mr. Block offered an amendment to the third clause of the Preamble, "We therefore recog-

nize the necessity of the existence of a thorough Federation, etc.

Mr. Wilkinson offered an amendment to add at the end of the third clause the words: "organized under the trades union system of organization."

Mr. Burt offered a substitute to strike out in the first line of the second clause of Preamble the two words "and Labor" and to strike out all words after the word "Trade" in the last or third clause of Preamble so to have none but Trades Unions connected with the Federation.

After a very long and interesting debate, a motion was made to close the debate. The Convention then proceeded to vote on all the motions in their regular order. Mr. Burt's substitute was lost, Mr. Wilkinson's amend-

ment was then adopted. The question recurred on Mr. Block's original amendment. Mr. Block's amendment was lost. The Preamble as amended by Mr. Wilkinson was then read and adopted.

Mr. Fallis offered an amendment to Article 1, Section 1, as to defining the composition of the Federation. Lost.

J. S. Kirchner offered an amendment to Article 4 Sec. 2, as follows:

No organization shall be entitled to representation unless such organization has applied for, and obtained a charter at least one month prior to the Convention, from the President of the Federation.

Mr. McDaniels moved to amend Mr. Kirchner's amendment to read "certificate of membership" instead of "charter." Mr. Kirchner accepted Mr. McDaniels' amendment. The question recurred on Mr. Kirchner's amendment, embracing Mr. McDaniels' amendment. The amendment was then adopted by a vote of 26 ayes to 16 nays.

Mr. Burr moved to amend Section 1, Article 4, by adding:

Provided that this does not imply that representation shall be had by Local Trades Assemblies or Central Labor Unions. Lost.

Mr. McBride moved to insert after the word "organization" and before the word "shall" in line 3, section 2, "in connection with the Federation."

Mr. Holland amended, with consent of Mr. McBride, to read "connected with the Federation." Adopted.

President Gompers called Mr. McDaniels to the chair.

Motion was made to amend Sec. 1, Art. 6 of the Report of the Committee, so to strike out the words "small monthly circular," and insert the words "a monthly journal." After a very lively and instructive discussion the question was put to adopt the amendment, and on vote the amendment was lost by a large majority.

Moved that the rules be suspended and the time of adjournment of this session be extended to 7 P. M. Carried.

Mr. Isaac B. Miller moved that Sec. 1, Art. 6, of the report of the Committee be amended to read "\$1,000 per year," instead of "\$1,200

per year" for President's salary. Amendment lost by almost a unanimous vote. Isaac B. Miller alone voting in the negative.

Mr. Wm. J. Dillon offered a further amendment that the word "monthly" be stricken out, and the word "quarterly" be substituted, and also add "to be issued February 28, May 31, August 31, November 30." Mr. Dillon's amendment prevailed.

Mr. Edward L. Daley moved to add to Sec. 2, Art. 6: "and such additional number of copies as may be ordered and paid for by any organization connected with this Federation." Adopted.

On motion, Sec. 3 was adopted as reported by the Committee.

Art. 7, Sec. 3 was reported with words "in any justifiable boycott," be stricken out.

Wm. Martin offered the following substitute:

STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS.—ARTICLE VIII.

Section 1. No International, Local or other Union connected with this Federation, shall receive any financial aid or support from the treasury thereof, during a strike or lockout, unless it can be shown by the proper authorized officers, that the strike laws of the Union or Unions applying for financial aid have been strictly complied with.

Sec. 2. In case of lockouts or legalized strikes, as per section 1 of this article, the Secretary of this Federation, upon application by the officers of any of the bodies connected therewith, shall, through the general officers of the organizations comprising this Federation, and in no other manner, call for an assessment for an amount not exceeding five (5) cents per member, per week, such assessment to remain in force until such time as the strike or lockout for the support of which the assessment was called, is won or declared off by the Union or Unions involved.

Sec. 3. Any organization connected with this Federation, not complying with the call for an assessment for the support of strikes or lockouts, within thirty days, shall be suspended, and such suspension shall be removed and the suspended organization reinstated, only upon the full payment of its arrearages.

Sec. 4. Accompanying a call for an assessment shall be a circular from the Secretary of the Federation, giving a detailed account of the strike or lockout.

The substitute occasioned a prolonged debate.

On motion, the Convention adjourned at 7 P. M. to meet December 16, 1887, at 9 A. M.

FOURTH DAY—Morning Session.

Concordia Hall.

Baltimore, Md., December 16, 1887.

At 9 A. M., sharp, President Gompers' gavel fell, and the roll call showed as absentees: Block, Finklestone, Riege, Linsi, McBride, Mulen, Trimbath, Holland, Fitzpatrick, Metcalfe, Appel, Morrison, Pender, Elliott, Wilkinson, Rebenkoni, McDaniels, Ogden, A. M. Kirchner, Hasson, Goldwater, McKinney, Schillig Swallow. Most of these delegates were attending to committee duties.

The minutes of the third day's session were read and adopted.

A communication was read from San Francisco, as follows:

THE EVILS OF CHINESE IMMIGRATION.

San Francisco, December 8, 1887.

To the President and Members of the American Federation of Labor:

Gentlemen—Though but a small part of your grand organization, we feel that we are entitled to your consideration, and will unquestionably receive it if our request be just and moderate.

We would desire to call your earnest attention to the iniquities at present existing with regard to the enforcement and execution of the Chinese Restriction Laws.

According to the statement of Judge Hoffman, of the U. S. District Court, and endorsed by Judge Sawyer, of the U. S. Circuit Court and Judge Sabin, of the U. S. District Court of Nevada, it is impossible to exercise any kind of close judgment in their execution. Immense numbers of Chinese are landed on fraudulent certificates, of which no less than 15,000 are supposed to have been issued. Such as have no certificates upon arrival, are landed on habeas corpus, and when the time for trial comes or arrives, others who have lived here for some years are substituted, and are therefore in a position to answer all questions with reference to previous residence. Chinese who leave here with a genuine certificate, sell it in China, and return here without, claiming to have left here before the Restriction Laws were enacted.

Hundreds of Chinese girls are brought here for the purposes of prostitution, bought in China for coin and sold here in Chinatown in markets especially for that purpose. They are instructed as to what they must say before they come here; they are always made to be the wives of some Chinamen who are hired by the slave ring to swear to that effect. This system of slavery is much worse than was the negro slavery as it existed in the South. The girls so sold are the absolute chattels of their purchasers, and are forced to live a life of shame, without hope, unless some Chinaman buys her as his wife. The press here is unanimous in its denunciation of this terrible state of affairs, and pressure will be brought to bear to have the laws so altered that fraud will be impossible.

Judge Hoffman, who, as the presiding Judge, admits the impotency of the existing laws, recommends that the issuance of certificates should cease, and Chinamen who leave shall not be permitted to return. This we most heartily second, though we have no reason to be friendly disposed to the Judge, as we hold he has been most unfair, if not dishonest in his decisions. We would therefore urge upon you to use all your influence to have a law having the foregoing proposition as an object enacted, and to furthermore assist in all other legislation that would have a tendency to rid us of this terrible evil of Coolieism.

We will be pleased to furnish such information to your Committee as they may call for, and hoping that your deliberation may be fruitful and bear good results, we are most

Respectfully yours,

HERMAN GUTSTADT,
CHARLES GRAMBARH,
HERMAN KULIES,
J. R. HOENES,
TONY B. HONKOMP.

Committee of Union No. 228 of S. F. C. M. I. U. of America.

The consideration of the report of the Committee on Constitution was resumed. The discussion on Mr. Martin's substitute then proceeded.

Mr. Robert Swallow was called to the chair.

Mr. J. S. Kirchner amended and embraced an amendment of Mr. McSweeney so as to read: "That the substitute offered by Mr. Martin shall be referred to a popular vote of all the members of the organizations affiliated with the Federation, and that the said above be reported to the next annual Convention.

Mr. Wm. D. Dillon offered the following amendment: "When this question is referred to the different unions of this Federation, no law in the Constitution shall be so construed as to prevent that portion of the trades unions who desire to enforce a compulsory assessment upon their employed members from doing so, for the support of the striking members of their union." Mr. Dillon's amendment was lost. Mr. Martin's substitute was then referred by a majority vote, to be reported on at the next Convention.

Mr. Mullin moved to insert in Sec. 3, Art. 6, the words "of the organizations connected with the A. F. of L." after the word "help" in the fourth line. Adopted unanimously.

Mr. J. S. Kirchner moved to non-concur in report of committee striking out the words "in any justifiable boycott." Motion adopted.

Mr. Wm. Martin offered an amendment to Sec. 3, Art. 8, to add at close of sentence

"when such arrearages are fully paid." Adopted.
Mr. Edmonston offered an amendment to Sec. 6, Art. 8, to read:

"The funds of the Federation shall be banked under the supervision of three Trustees, who shall be selected by the Executive Council, and residents of the same city as the Treasurer. The Trustees shall report quarterly the amount so banked, and no money shall be paid out only in conformity with the rules laid down by the Executive Council." Adopted.

Wm. Martin moved to amend Sec. 8, Art. 8, to add on first line of Executive Council the words "or speakers engaged by them." Carried.

L. Riege, amend Sec. 4, Art. 9, to add "which shall accompany the application." Adopted.

G. Edmonston rose to a question of privilege and asked for an investigation of the slanders circulated by the rejected Washington delegates in the streets and lobbies against his standing as a union man. Motion made to appoint a committee of three to investigate. Carried. The motion was then reconsidered and unanimously lost on the ground that the Brotherhood of Carpenters had sole jurisdiction over Mr. Edmonston's actions in the trade.

J. S. Kirchner to amend Art. 9, Sec. 5, to read "provided such body is connected with or willing to join the A. F. of L."

Mr. Block offered an amendment mandatory on the affiliated bodies to insert a clause in their Constitutions compelling the local bodies to join Central Labor Unions. Ruled out by President Gompers as an interference with the guaranteed autonomy of the organizations.

Mr. Wilkinson, amend to insert:

"But no Local Union shall be admitted to such bodies when not connected with the National or International Union of the trade, if such exists." Lost.

McLaughlin, to insert "they may" instead of "it shall be their duty." Carried.

The question recurred on the amendment of Mr. Kirchner. Mr. Kirchner's amendment was lost. The report of the Committee as amended by Mr. McLaughlin was adopted almost unanimously.

G. Edmonston moved a supplementary section to be Section 6:

"The Executive Council shall have power to increase the salary of the President to an amount not exceeding \$300, when the income shall justify such increase." Lost.

Geo. Block was called to the chair, while the foregoing motion was put.

J. S. Kirchner moved to insert a new article as Article X.

"There shall be elected by the Convention a General Organizer, salaried annually, whose duty shall be to organize new unions and attach the same to the new National Unions now or hereafter in process of formation, and who are or become affiliated with the A. F. of L., the same to receive such remuneration and incidental traveling expenses as provided now for speakers appointed by the Executive Council."

Mr. Finklestone moved to amend to strike out "General Organizers" and insert the words: "Such special organizers as may from time to time be deemed necessary, and warranted by the condition of the funds."

The hour of 1 P. M. having arrived, the Convention took a recess for dinner.

Adjourned to meet again at 2:30 P. M.

FOURTH DAY.—Afternoon Session.

At 2 P. M., promptly, President Gompers called the meeting to order. All officers present. Absentees: Linsi, Orem, Emrich, Mullen, Hugo Miller, Ogden, Appel, Goldwater.

Communication from Jas. Bartley, Amsterdam, N. Y., asking for uniform label for all union goods.

The Convention resumed consideration of the question of organizers, and the motion of Mr. Kirchner was lost by a vote of 14 ayes to 35 nays.

Motion to adopt Art. X, Sec. 1, as amended by committee, to strike out all after the word "and" at end of second line, so as to not require a general vote of the societies affiliated

on the adoption of the Constitution of the Federation. The question was put to the Convention, and on a show of hands the motion was carried by a majority vote. The call of the roll was asked for by a sufficient number of delegates, and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll, which showed 36 ayes in favor of striking out, and 19 nays.

The motion to strike out, not having the necessary two-thirds vote, was declared lost. A motion to reconsider the vote just taken was made, and on a ruling of the Chair that it required a two-third vote to strike out, an appeal was taken. Mr. McSweeney was called to the Chair, and the decision of the Chair was re-

versed by a vote of 28 to 26. Moved to strike out all of Sec. 1, Art. X, line 2, after the word "vote." Carried by vote of 38 to 15.

Prof. Richard T. Ely was then escorted to the platform, and addressed the Convention at considerable length.

After Prof. Ely had concluded, the consideration of the Constitution was resumed.

It was moved to strike out the old Constitution and substitute the Constitution as reported from the committee and amended by the Convention. Carried almost unanimously, only three dissenting votes being noted (For Constitution as amended see front pages.)

By unanimous consent, the words "certificate of membership" were ordered to be changed to "certificate of affiliation."

Committee on Constitution discharged with thanks.

On motion, the five minute rule was suspended, and the rule for speakers was fixed at two minutes.

The regular order was taken up, and the Committee on Finance reported as follows:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON FINANCE.

Baltimore, Md., December 15, 1887.
To the American Federation of Labor:

Your Auditing Committee beg leave to report that they have examined the report of the Treasurer and books of the President and found them correct. We regret to state that in going over the books we found that several of

the organizations represented in the A. F. of L. do not pay their per capita tax with the promptness necessary to insure success in the proper carrying out of the work of this organization.

(Signed) JOHN KANE, Chairman.
EDW. FINKLESTONE,
ROBT. T. SWALLOW.

Report of the Committee on Finance was unanimously adopted as read.

President Gompers asked unanimous consent to introduce Resolution No. 40, in regard to International Arbitration. Objection was offered by Mr. Holland, and then withdrawn to allow Mr. Jos. Wilkinson to offer the following amendment to Mr. Gompers' resolution: "We also extend our sympathies to the Irish people in their efforts for self-government, and condemn the coercion policy of the British government toward the Irish people. The amendment was accepted, and with the original motion was referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Mr. McDaniels asked unanimous consent to offer Resolution No. 41, in regard to Chicago Printers. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Mr. Daley moved that the delegates hand in the names and addresses of the chief officers of the organizations they represent, and that the Secretary insert the same in the printed proceedings of this Convention.

The Committee on report of the Executive Council presented and read as follows:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL,

TRADES UNION CONFERENCE.

Upon this part of the report your Committee would most earnestly recommend the election by the Convention of two delegates to represent the American Federation of Labor at the coming International Congress to be held in London, England. Your Committee holds to the maxim that the workers of the world must unite and consequently hails with delight the opportunity afforded this organization by the invitation extended to this body by the Secretary of the Trade Union Parliamentary Committee of Great Britain, Mr. Broadhurst.

MACHINERY—STATISTICS—HOURS OF LABOR.

It is with regret that we see machinery largely taking the place of the mechanic and laborer, thereby compelling these men to walk the street and their families to suffer for the necessities of life. Therefore in consideration of the continuous invention of labor-saving machinery, we deem it imperative that the hours of labor should be reduced so as to effect the displacement of manual labor and ensure employment for all workmen.

STATE BRANCHES.

On the question of State Branches and Federal Unions your Committee approve the report urging more active efforts looking to the formation of Local and State Federations by organizations now in existence.

MUTUAL HELP.

We submit that it is the duty of Trades Unions everywhere under whatever banner they may be enrolled to assist in the organization and upbuilding of local branches of other trades in their localities; therefore we approve the words of the Executive Council under the head of "Mutual Help," and recommend that delegates urge their respective organizations to greater efforts in this direction in the future.

LABOR LEGISLATION.

We entirely agree with that portion of the Executive Council's address advising that greater attention be paid to legislation by the members of the Federation. At present our members suffer greatly, not only from the enactment of unjust laws and the inefficiency of unenforced laws, but

also from the discriminating dispensation of the law. Laws that have been passed in the interest of the workman are not enforced because he neglects himself to enforce them. Laws have been enacted by the support and countenance of workmen, who were led to believe they were intended to benefit labor, which have proven its scourge; and we see the same system that relegates the involuntary tramp to a prison cell for stealing one dollar metamorphosed to allow the escape of the distinguished thief of a million. We therefore recommend to all the membership the necessity of resorting to the use of the ballot and demanding of all candidates for public office a public pledge of support to the measures desired by them before voting for them.

ATTITUDE OF THE K. OF L.

The attitude of the Knights of Labor towards many of the trades unions connected with the American Federation of Labor has been anything but friendly, and while their declarations of principles advocates assistance to trades unions, their practices in many cases have been entirely foreign to those principles. While we agree that a conflict is not desirable on our part, we also believe that the party or power which seeks to exterminate the trades unions of the country should be met with unrelenting opposition, whether that power consists of millionaire employers or men who title themselves Knights of Labor. The Knights of Labor, during the last four years, have constantly and persistently declared that the trades unions must go, yet the absolute failure of that declaration is clearly seen in the almost unanimous demand among their own members for trade charters. We recommend the utmost resistance on the part of the Federation to all encroachments upon its constituent bodies, irrespective of from whatever quarter they come.

GROWTH OF THE FEDERATION.

The wonderful numerical expansion of the Federation of Labor in the past year is due, we think to a combination of circumstances, of which the three following are the most prominent: First the workmen of the different trades have realized that the men who are employed in any particular branch of industry understand the nature of it, and the difficulties connected with it, better than those who are acquainted with the trade, and have therefore resolved to join the organization that accords them the right of self-control. Secondly, the great strikes which have taken place within the past few years in connection with the Knights of Labor have made the members of that body discontented with the management of their affairs, as it has been customary to allow strikes involving tens of thousands of men to take place, and after their local funds were exhausted, order them back to work at the employer's terms; and thirdly, there is a strong sentiment prevailing and rapidly increasing among workmen, that open organization is the best form of organization, and that the time has arrived for the working classes of the country to demand the rights and privileges that the laws and constitution of this country confers upon them, and to assert the rights of labor openly and fearlessly.

PHILADELPHIA TAGEBLATT.

In the matter of the Philadelphia *Tageblatt* and the matter of the Iron Moulders' troubles with their employers, we recommend that the action of the Executive Council be approved.

DUES OF CENTRAL BODIES AND CHARTERS.

We approve of the action of the Executive Council in fixing the yearly dues of the Central Labor Unions and Trades Councils holding charters of the Federation at ten dollars. We also approve of the action taken by the Executive Council in the granting of all charters during the past year.

PHILADELPHIA BREWERS.

In the matter of the Brewers difficulty, we approve of the course of the Executive Council and exceedingly regret that their almost successful efforts in behalf of the men were frustrated by the selfish intrigues of the authorities in D. A., No. 1, K. of L.

(Signed.)

Respectfully submitted,
L. W. McDANIEL,
JOSEPH WILKERSON,
J. S. KIRCHNER,
SAM. GOLDWATER,
JOHN A. OREM,
JOHN H. KENNEY.

The first recommendation, on motion, was adopted.

Mr. P. J. McGuire moved to reconsider the motion. It was decided to reconsider. Mr. Block moved a substitute, to recommend and urge all organizations to send delegates if possible; moved to strike out "two delegates" and insert "one delegate." Lost.

The question recurred on the original report, and by an overwhelming majority, the report of the Committee on this point was not

concurrent in, and the recommendation to send delegates to England was voted down, for the reason that the Convention deemed it wiser to first unite the labor organizations of America, before trying to unite with the workmen of Europe.

The balance of the report was adopted *seriatim* and then adopted as a whole.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS.

Moved and seconded, that we now proceed

to the nomination and election of officers. Carried unanimously.

President Gompers nominated two tellers and an inspector.

Mr. Wilkinson rose and placed Mr. Samuel Gompers in nomination for President.

Mr. McBride seconded the nomination.

On motion, the Secretary was ordered to cast the ballot. Mr. Samuel Gompers was elected President, unanimously, amid great enthusiasm.

For First Vice-President, Messrs. P. J. McGuire, John McBride, and Dan McLaughlin were nominated. Messrs. McGuire and McBride positively declined. Mr. Dan. McLaughlin, after being urged to stand, was elected by acclamation.

For Second Vice-President, Wm. Martin, Fred. Haler, Ed. Daley, Wm. Weihe, and J. H. Burt were nominated. The latter nominees all declined in favor of the first named gentleman, and Mr. William Martin was elected Second Vice-President by acclamation.

For Secretary, P. J. McGuire, Fred. Haller, J. H. Burt, and J. Kirchner were nominated. Mr. McGuire declined, positively, on the ground that his duties to his own organization demanded all his time. Mr. Haller, Burt, and Kirchner also desired to decline, and, on the unanimous request of the delegates, Mr. McGuire consented to accept the nomination, and

by a rising vote Mr. McGuire was declared unanimously elected Secretary.

For Treasurer, Mr. G. Edmonston was nominated, but just previous to his nomination a scurrilous and abusive circular, in print, was circulated, signed by E. W. Oyster, attacking Mr. Edmonston's character as a union man. The circulation of this circular resulted in the unanimous condemnation of the circular and its author. Delegate after delegate rose and expressed their indignation at the action of E. W. Oyster, and, on motion, by a rising vote, Mr. G. Edmonston was unanimously elected Treasurer.

PLACE FOR HOLDING NEXT CONVENTION.

On motion, it was ordered to proceed to a choice of the place of meeting of the next convention.

Chicago, St. Louis, Pittsburg, and Toronto were placed in nomination. In the first ballot Chicago received 14 votes; St. Louis, 17; Toronto, 12. Pittsburg, 10. Total, 53. No choice.

Second ballot: Chicago, 20; St. Louis, 20; Toronto, 11. Total, 51. No choice.

Third ballot: St. Louis, 30; Chicago, 20. Total, 52. St. Louis having received the largest number of votes was declared to be the place for holding the Third Annual Convention of the A. F. of L.

On motion, the Convention adjourned at 8:20 P. M., to meet at 8 A. M., December 17, 1887.

FIFTH DAY.—Morning Session.

CONCORDIA HALL,

Baltimore, Md., December 17, 1887.

At 8:15 A. M. the Convention opened, President Gompers in the chair, and all officers at their posts. On roll-call, 31 delegates were present. Absentees: Finklestone, Riege, Orem, Mahoney, McBride, Mullen, Trim bath, Emrich, Holland, Kenney, Metcalfe, Appel, Morrison, Pender, Elliott, Wilkinson, Rubenkonig, Miller, McDaniel, Trapper, Wiener, A. M. Kirchner, Shipley, Applehagen, Swallow. Reading of minutes dispensed with.

Telegrams as follows were read:

Baltimore, December 17, 1887.

To Samuel Gompers, President Federation of Labor, care S. Barend, Howard House:

D. A. 91, in session, send fraternal greeting to the Federation of Labor, in session at Baltimore, and appreciate the action taken relative

to the application for a charter from your body by the Hanan scabs. Yours fraternally,

ALEX. D. McDONALDSON,
D. R. S. D. A. 91, K. of L.

Telegram received and ordered filed.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LABELS AND BOYCOTTS.

The Committee on Labels and Boycotts next reported through its Secretary, Mr. Mahoney. The report is as follows:

Baltimore, December 15, 1887.

To the Officers and Delegates to the Convention:

Your Committee to whom was referred all Resolutions on Labels, etc., beg leave to make the following report:

Having carefully examined Resolution No. 16, offered by E. L. Daly; No. 17, by H. F. Trappers; No. 18, by E. Finklestone; No. 24, by E. L. Daly; No. 30, by O. A. Seusser; No. 33, by E. Finklestone; No. 35, by H. Miller; and No. 36, by O. A. Seusser, and

finding that all the above enumerated resolutions bear on the same subject, viz., The recognition and endorsement of Union Labels, we respectfully recommend the adoption of Resolution No. 16, offered by E. L. Daley as a substitute for the whole.

On Resolution No. 26, offered by E. L. Daley, your Committee recommends that the words "restrict as far as possible the sale of" be stricken out and the words "refuse to purchase the" be inserted and thus amended. We recommend its adoption.

On Resolution No. 31, offered by J. Duncan, your Committee report favorably.

On the petition of James Bartley, of Amsterdam, N. Y., to adopt one universal label for all union made goods, we report unfavorably; for the reason that even if practicable—and we do not so deem it—that this body has no power to adopt a universal label for the organizations affiliated with it.

Respectfully submitted,
DANIEL McLAUGHLIN, Chairman.
HUGO MILLER,
J. F. MAHONEY, Secretary

Mr. William Martin was called to the Chair, and President Gompers offered an amendment to Resolution 16, as follows: To insert in last line the words: "By the National or International Trades Unions." Adopted.

Mr. Joseph Wilkinson offered an additional amendment, to read as follows: "But in the tailoring trade the label shall be used only in the manufacturing or ready-made clothing trade, and not on any custom-made garments." Adopted.

ACTION ON LABELS,

Resolution 16, offered by E. L. Daley, as amended was unanimously adopted and reads as follows:

WHEREAS, One of the greatest evils which confronts the labor organizations of the country today, is the hostile influence of those persons who take the places of members of labor unions during time of strike or lockout; and

WHEREAS, The manufacturers of goods made by such non-union help depend largely for their success on the patronage of the laboring men and women of the country; and,

WHEREAS, Various labor organizations throughout the country have adopted union labels to be placed on union-made goods; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Federation pledge itself to do all in its power to promote and encourage the use of all labels owned or endorsed by National or International Trades Unions connected with this Federation.

LIST OF LABELS ENDORSED.

The following trades union labels were then endorsed and working people in general are asked to patronize all goods bearing said labels:

The blue label of the Cigar Makers' International Union.

The yellow label of the United Boot and Shoe Workers.

The white label of the Iron Moulders' Union of North America.

The Bakers' label.

The Tailors' Progressive label on all ready made clothing.

The National Tight Work Coopers' label.

The label of the German-American Typographers.

The United Umbrella and Walking Stick Dressers' Union.

ACTION IN REGARD TO W. L. DOUGLASS AND E. AND A. H. BATCHELLER, SHOE MANUFACTURERS.

Resolution 26, offered by E. L. Daley as amended was adopted and reads as follows:

WHEREAS, William L. Douglas, a shoe manufacturer of Brockton, Mass., and the firm of E. and A. H. Batcheller, of North Brookfield, Mass., have publicly declared war upon the Lasters' Protective Union, a trade union connected with this Federation, and have announced that they will never employ members of said Lasters' Protective Union; and

WHEREAS, In so doing these firms become advocates and promoters of the "black list" system of preventing union men obtaining employment, which we believe should at all times be met by labor organizations with the most rigid retaliatory measures at hand; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, earnestly request all friends of organized labor, everywhere, to refuse to purchase boots and shoes manufactured by the firms of William L. Douglas, of Brockton, Mass., and E. and A. H. Batcheller & Co., of North Brookfield, Mass.

THE NEW YORK TRIBUNE.

Resolution No. 31, offered by Jas. Duncan, was unanimously adopted as follows, by a rising vote:

WHEREAS, The New York Tribune persists in opposing organized labor, by employing non-union men; therefore

RESOLVED, That we declare said New York Tribune to be unworthy of patronage of any kind from friends of American workingmen.

The labors of the Committee on Labels and Boycotts being completed the committee was discharged.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

The Committee on Resolutions then reported through its Secretary, Mr. Chris Evans, and after various amendments had been made and adopted, the reports read as follows:

Baltimore, Md., December 13, 1887.

To the Officers and Members of the Second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled:

Your Committee on Resolutions met on the above date and organized by electing P. J. Fitzgerald, Chairman, and Chris Evans, Secretary. After carefully considering the resolutions presented for our consideration beg leave to make the following report:

No. 1.—THE ATTEMPTED BOYCOTT OF "THE NEW YORK SUN."

WHEREAS, By what we believe harmful legislation or certain labor organizations, an

attempt has been made to injure the standing of the New York Sun; and

WHEREAS, The representatives of the International Typographical Union aver that the New York Sun has been faithful in all its relations with associated union labor; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor condemn such attempts as being calculated to injure rather than benefit the working people.

Adopted by a rising vote.

No. 2.—NO POLICE INTERFERENCE WITH WORKINGMEN'S MEETINGS.

WHEREAS, There is a tendency prevalent on the part of those in power to curtail and interfere with the constitutional rights of the people; and

WHEREAS, This tendency has so far been put into practice by the mayors and police officials of municipalities, by interpreting constitutional laws and rights in prohibiting public meetings, and by persecuting representatives of labor organizations; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we deeply deplore that the democratic spirit of the people of this country, especially that noble spirit of resistance against tyranny and wrong exercised by the founders of our republic, is rapidly being replaced by a spirit of anarchy on the part of those who should be the servants of the people; be it further

RESOLVED, That we, as the representatives of organized labor of the country, view with alarm the apparent disregard of the constitutional rights of the people, and regard them as contrary to the spirit and genius of the institutions of our country, and against which we hereby enter our solemn and emphatic protest; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this Federation hereby formally declares that it has no sympathy with other than lawful methods.

Adopted amid intense enthusiasm.

No. 3.—DUAL ORGANIZATIONS IN ONE TRADE.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor deems it unwise for two local national or international organizations of any one trade to exist in the same jurisdiction, and advise the amalgamation of trades in such instances. The Executive Council is instructed to use all means in its power to accomplish this end. Adopted.

No. 4.—THE EIGHT-HOUR WORK-DAY.

Your committee recommends that as the subject matter contained in this resolution was dwelt upon at some length in the President's address, and believing that the Committee on Officers' Reports will recommend something on this question, we deem it unnecessary to take any action on the question at this time. Adopted.

No. 5.—SUSTAINING THE WAITERS' BAR-KEEPERS' AND OYSTERMEN'S UNIONS.

WHEREAS, The Ball-room and Park Proprietors' Association of New York have locked out their waiters, bar-keepers and oystermen for no other reason than their loyalty to the principles of trade unionism; and

WHEREAS, Said combination of employers have an article in their constitution, by which all persons desiring employment must apply

to the secretary of the bosses' association, who is charged with the duty of keeping a record of such persons, whereby all waiters, bar-keepers, and oystermen who are members of a labor organization have their names placed on a so-called ineligible list, thus carrying on a most outrageous blacklisting of honest workingmen in the most systematic manner yet known in the labor movement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor denounce the actions of such associations as pernicious and offensive to the rights of American workingmen, and hostile to the spirit of American institutions; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we call upon all lovers of justice to lend their aid to the Waiters, Bar-keepers' and Oystermen's Unions of New York in combating this tyrannous combination of bosses.

Adopted by a rising vote.

No. 6.—ADVERTISING THE FEDERATION.

WHEREAS, There is apparent necessity for extending the principles and strengthening the numbers of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, It is necessary that some system should be adopted whereby the strength and name of the organization will be properly recognized; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention recommends to all trade unions connected with the American Federation of Labor the printing of the words, "American Federation of Labor," immediately over the title of their trade union, on all circulars, documents, programmes, etc., so that this organization may be recognized by all trades unions as their chief representative body.

Committee recommends that this matter be left optional with each organization connected with the American Federation of Labor. Adopted.

No. 7.—GOVERNMENT AID TO TRADES UNIONS, AND NO. 8.—SPECULATION IN COAL LANDS.

On the bills referring to government aid to trades union co-operative enterprises and the prevention of speculation in coal lands in the United States.

Your Committee recommends that said bills be referred to the in-coming Executive Council for such action as they may deem advisable.

The bills are as follows:

49TH CONGRESS, 2D SESSION. H. R. 11,185.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
FEBRUARY 14, 1887.

Read twice, referred to the Committee on Labor, and ordered to be printed.

Mr. Voorhees introduced the following bill:
A bill to relieve the laboring classes and to improve their condition permanently.

49TH CONGRESS, 2D SESSION. H. R. 11,186.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
FEBRUARY 14, 1887.

Read twice, referred to the Committee on Mines and Mining, and ordered to be printed.

Mr. Voorhees introduced the following bill:
A bill to prevent speculation in the coal lands of the United States.

No. 12.—PRACTICAL ACTION.

WHEREAS, The strength of organized labor has been too often expended in declarations

and efforts not directly appertaining to the welfare of workmen, and thereby those objects that require the best energies and influence of such organization have been affected detrimentally; therefore,

RESOLVED, That this Federation regard such declarations and efforts as extravagant expenditure of strength, and that hereafter cognizance be taken only of those practical objects which bear tangibly on the material advancement of the cause of labor. Adopted.

NO. 14—CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS.

WHEREAS, The constantly increasing tendency of the executive authorities is to arbitrarily use their power against the political and economical rights of citizens; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we caution the working people to more effectually guard their constitutional and economic rights. Adopted.

NO. 19—COMPULSORY EDUCATION, ETC.

WHEREAS, The greatest barrier to the success of the masses in their struggle for the rights of labor and of man, has been, and is today, a lack of knowledge of the system of government under which they live, and a consequent misunderstanding of the privileges accorded them by the enactment of some laws, and of the evils that sometimes result from the passage of other laws; and,

WHEREAS, We recognize that the education of the people is the fundamental principle upon which the success of every proposed plan of social reform depends; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor recommend to the law makers of this country the enactment of compulsory education laws in the different states of the Union whereby parents will be compelled to send their children to school, so as to enable them to acquire an education fitting them to become intelligent and important factors in the regulation of the laws and the system of government under which they live; and, furthermore, that the science of government shall be taught in every public school in the United States. Adopted.

NO. 18—FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH EUROPEAN TRADE UNIONS.

Committee on Resolutions recommend the present friendly relations, through correspondence with European Trades Unions, be encouraged and continued. Adopted.

NO. 19—THE EXTRADITION TREATY WITH RUSSIA.

WHEREAS, The right of asylum for political offenses is, and of right should be, one of the most cherished of American institutions; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American F. of L. in general convention assembled, do hereby make an earnest protest against the proposed extradition treaty between the United States and Russia, and denounce its intentions as unjust, cruel and cowardly toward a people struggling against a most terrible and cruel despotism, and we call upon the President of the United States to cease all negotiations with the Russian government looking to this end. Adopted.

NO. 20—AGAINST CHINESE IMMIGRATION.

RESOLVED, That we, the representatives of the American Federation of Labor insist upon the passage of an amendment to the present

law which shall more effectually restrict or prevent the immigration of Chinese into this country.

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council are hereby directed to render all the assistance possible to secure the passage of a law seeking the object above indicated. Adopted.

NO. 21—EMPLOYMENT OF ARMY AND NAVY BANDS.

RESOLVED, That the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, in Congress assembled, that hereafter no enlisted man in the service of the United States, the army or navy, whether a non-commissioned officer, musician, or private, shall be detailed, or permitted to leave his post to engage in any pursuit, business, or performance in civil life for emolument, hire or otherwise, where the same shall interfere with the customary employment and regular engagement of local civilians in their respective arts, trades or professions. The American Federation of Labor heartily endorse above resolutions and earnestly request members of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States Congress to support the same.

Committee recommends its adoption, and would further recommend that the organized workmen of this country take no part in any demonstration where non-union bands are engaged. Adopted.

NO. 23—LEGAL REGULATION OF THE OYSTER TRADE.

WHEREAS, The present spirit of competition between the oyster packers of this country has a tendency to ruin that young and promising industry; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, recommends to the Legislatures of those states having jurisdiction over oyster domains, the passage of such laws as will prevent the taking up, packing or shipping of oysters that have not as yet attained a growth of three years; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we recommend to the proper authorities in the state of Maryland, the enforcement of the law which regulates the use in measuring shucked oysters, of a nine-pint wine measure. Adopted.

NO. 25—EMPLOYMENT OF COMPETENT MASTERS OF VESSELS.

WHEREAS, The coal transportation companies operating between the Atlantic ports, in their greed for wealth employ as masters of vessels persons who are incompetent, and also place under the charge of one person as many as ten crafts at times, thus endangering life and impeding navigation; be it

RESOLVED, That it is the opinion of the American Federation of Labor that Congress should pass a law that each vessel shall have a master, and that no person be permitted to serve as master of a vessel who has not been examined and whose capability to act as a master has not been established.

Committee recommends that the resolution be referred to incoming Executive Council. Adopted.

NO. 29—THE BLAIR EDUCATIONAL BILL.

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of this convention of the American Federation of Labor that the United States Congress should enact into law the bill known as the "Blair Edu-

cational Bill," at the earliest possible moment.

Committee reports this resolution without recommendation, believing that the subject matter contained therein is already provided for in another resolution on "compulsory education." Report of committee adopted.

NO. 34—THE SAN FRANCISCO FEDERATION.

RESOLVED, That the incoming officers of this Federation be instructed to appeal to the local trades unions of San Francisco to join the Trades Federation of the Pacific Coast;

RESOLVED, That the organizations of San Francisco be requested to continue to assist the bakers of their city in their desperate struggles for the attainment of their efforts.

Committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the incoming officers. Report of committee adopted.

NO. 38—THE INTERNAL REVENUE ON CIGARS AND TOBACCO.

These resolutions were previously adopted by the general convention of the Cigarmakers' International Union:

WHEREAS, An agitation is being vigorously presented to abolish internal revenue on cigars and tobacco;

WHEREAS, Experience has demonstrated that the agitation even of this subject has had the effect of keeping thousands of workers in our trade out of employment for months at a time;

WHEREAS, The internal revenue system, so far, at least as it applies to the manufacture of cigars, has had the effect of developing it from a more sporadic calling into a fully established industry by which nearly 75,000 of our people earn their livelihood;

WHEREAS, The abolition of the internal revenue on cigars would not benefit either producer or consumer by reason of its fractional bearing on each cigar; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the representatives of the cigarmakers of the country, in convention assembled, protest respectfully but emphatically against any interference with the internal revenue on cigars.

RESOLVED, That should the agitation for the abolition of the internal revenue on cigars be prominently brought before the United States Congress, the International president be, and he is hereby directed to have petitions protesting against the same printed and gratuitously forwarded to local unions to be filled out and forwarded to Congressmen for their respective constituents.

RESOLVED, That the International president, with the advice and consent of the executive board, shall appoint (providing it shall be deemed necessary) a committee to proceed to Washington and endeavor to secure the defeat of the above measure. The organizers, or any of them may be appointed to perform this duty.

RESOLVED, That the International president be, and he is hereby directed to take such action to aid the local unions and the committee provided for in the second resolution to prosecute their work to a successful termination.

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the American Federation of Labor be and they are hereby instructed to bring this subject to the attention of the next session of that organization.

Committee recommends the endorsement of the position taken by the cigarmakers as above

stated, and that the incoming Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor render them all the assistance they can to accomplish the desired ends.

Report of committee adopted.

NO. 39—MEMORIAL TO THE LATE THOMAS A. ARMSTRONG.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor deplores the loss of Thomas A. Armstrong, late of Pittsburg, Penn., and recognizes the fact that in his death American labor has lost an earnest and effective advocate, who through life was devoted to the principles of trades unions.

RESOLVED, That this organization fully endorse the project now on foot to erect a monument to the memory of the late lamented champion of labor and founder of the *National Labor Tribune*.

The committee recommends the adoption of resolution and would further recommend that this organization make a suitable donation to said monumental fund. Adopted.

NO. 40—INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION.

WHEREAS, The A. F. of L. has been intrusted with the solemn duty of defending the best interests of the working people of America; and

WHEREAS, The demands of the working people will never be fully heard in all their strength and nobility of aspiration until the nations of the world mutually agree to refrain from the fratricidal strife that has so often brought misery and desolation into many millions of happy homes; and

WHEREAS, The working class, the class that always has to bear the brunt of brutal war, has the most profound interest in the establishment and maintenance of peace. Therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. in convention in the city of Baltimore assembled, hails with deep satisfaction the arrival of a delegation from Great Britain and Ireland, charged with the task of proposing a treaty by which all questions which cannot be settled by ordinary diplomatic agency, may be referred to arbitration; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the thanks of this convention be tendered to Wm. R. Cremer, M. P., for his able exposition of the objects of aforesaid delegation before this convention.

We also extend our sympathies to the Irish people in their efforts for self-government, and condemn the coercion policy of the British government toward the Irish people.

Adopted.
Dillon, Holland and Wilkinson on record as opposed to any recognition of the English government.

NO. 41—CHICAGO PRINTERS' STRIKE.

WHEREAS, The action of the employing printers of Chicago in requiring printers applying for work to sign a contract to sever all connection, and abstain from joining in future all trades unions, which contract is as follows:

In consideration of one dollar in hand paid, and the prompt payment by to me, on regularly established pay days, of such wages as may from time to time be agreed upon for my services, I pledge myself to have no connection with, nor membership in, nor pay dues to any Union or Association which shall

have in view or attempt the carrying out of any of the following objects, viz.:

1. The regulation of wages, by scale or otherwise.
2. The dictation of who shall or shall not be employed in any printing establishment.
3. The making of regulations to govern foremen in the discharge of their duties.
4. The regulation of the number or kind of apprentices.
5. The making of rules which bind workmen to the action of a majority, whether by threat or otherwise, and which tend to interfere with a workman's right to earn wages.
6. The making of rules, non-compliance with which illegally oppress and bring hardship to members of the craft.

I especially renounce any connection and association with the Chicago Typographical Union No. 16, of which I have been hitherto a member.

I hereby agree, if I shall conclude to again connect myself with said C. T. U., or join any Union or Association having any of the above objects in view to give.....written notice, sixty days prior to making such application for membership.

It is understood that Associations for benevolent purposes, or for intellectual improvement, or Associations for the advancement of members in the Art of Printing, are not objected to, but encouraged by employers.

Dated....., 188..

WHEREAS, This action of the employing printers of Chicago is a blow at trade organizations generally; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the printers of Chicago are entitled to the active support of every organization represented in this body. Adopted.

NO. 42—WAGES OF EMPLOYEES IN GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor earnestly recommend the passage of the bill to restore the wages of the employees of the Government Printing Office, known as the "Foran Bill," with the amendments recommended by the delegates from the International Typographical Union, viz.:

50TH CONGRESS, 1ST SESSION.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Mr. Foran introduced the following bill:
To regulate and fix the compensation of employees of the Government Printing Office.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That from and after the passage of this act the wages of printers, bookbinders and pressmen employed in the Government Printing Office shall be four dollars per day, except printers engaged upon piece-work, who shall be paid sixty cents per thousand ems for composition. The wages of all other employees in the Government Printing Office shall be increased in the same proportion as the wages of bookbinders, printers and pressmen are increased by the provisions of this act; provided, that the pay of assistant foremen, proofreaders, makers up, clerks and other employees filling positions entitling them to extra compensation, shall be adjusted by the Public Printer.

Sec. 2. That all laws or parts of laws in conflict with the provisions of this act be, and the same are hereby, repealed.

By unanimous consent the above Resolution No. 42 was offered by Secretary McGuire and adopted unanimously.

THE UNIFICATION OF LABOR.

RESOLVED, That we call upon all workingmen to join the unions of their respective trades, and urge the formation of national and international unions, and the centralization of all under one head—the American Federation of Labor. Adopted.

LABOR'S GENERAL HOLIDAY.

RESOLVED, That we further recommend the general adoption of the first Monday in September as "Labor's General Holiday."

VOTE OF THANKS.

RESOLVED, That we tender a vote of thanks to all the reporters of the press that have been with us during our convention, for the generous and impartial manner in which they have so fully reported the proceedings of our convention. Adopted by a rising vote.

Mr. W. G. F. Price, a correspondent of the New York Daily Press, responded briefly by invitation of the convention.

RESOLVED, That we tender a vote of thanks to the mayor and the people of Baltimore; also to the Calumet Club and Brush Electric Co.; also to the Federated Trades Unions of the city and to all labor organizations of Baltimore, for their kind and generous hospitality toward us during our stay in the city. Adopted by a rising vote.

Signed by the committee.

P. F. FITZPATRICK, Chairman;
FRED HALLER,
J. T. ELLIOTT,
LOUIS C. P. RIEGE,
CHRIS EVANS, Secretary.

On motion the report of the Committee on Resolutions, as amended, was unanimously adopted as a whole, and the committee discharged.

CONCLUDING WORK OF THE CONVENTION.

Burt moved an appropriation not to exceed \$200 be donated to the Thomas A. Armstrong Monumental Association.

Hugo Miller amended to add that a similar donation be granted the Monumental Fund of the late William H. Foster, ex-Secretary of the Federation.

By unanimous consent, the motion and amendment were favorably referred to the newly elected Executive Council.

During the discussion on resolutions Harry Ogden took the platform, and in a neat address, presented Secretary P. J. McGuire with a very handsome and valuable gold-headed cane, as a public testimonial from the delegates of the convention in recognition of the many years of service of Mr. McGuire in behalf of the labor movement. Mr. McGuire accepted the cane in

a trite speech, and President Gompers was ordered to make a record of the gift in the official proceedings.

Jos. Wilkinson asked leave to introduce a resolution bearing on the tariff question. Ruled out of order on the ground that the time for introducing resolutions had expired.

Edward Daley moved the printing of the official proceedings be referred to the Executive Council to determine the cost and number of copies to be printed, and that one copy for each

delegate and three for each organization represented be furnished free.

Carried.

After a few brief remarks from President Gompers, congratulating the delegates on the harmony of the convention, and the successful work accomplished, the Second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor then adjourned to meet in Third Annual Convention at St. Louis, Mo., December 10, 1888.

Adjourned *sine die*.

1888

LABOR OMNIA VINCIT

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
Third Annual Convention

OF THE

American Federation
of Labor

HELD AT

ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

December 11, 12, 13, 14, 15

1888.

PUBLISHED BY DIRECTION OF
THE CONVENTION

OFFICERS
OF THE
American Federation of Labor

PRESIDENT

SAMUEL GOMPERS, 21 Clinton Place, New York

FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

DANIEL McLAUGHLIN, Box 26 Braidwood, Illinois

SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT

WILLIAM MARTIN, 512-514 Smithfield St., Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

SECRETARY

P. J. McGUIRE, Box 884, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

TREASURER

HENRY EMRICH, 339 East 21st St., New York

TRUSTEES

HUGO MILLER, 115 Park Row, New York

AUG. DELABAR, 7-11 New Chambers St., New York

JOSIAH DYER, 35-37 Frankfort St., New York

CONSTITUTION
OF THE
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

PREAMBLE.

WHEREAS, A struggle is going on in all the nations of the civilized world, between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between the Capitalist and the Laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the toiling millions, if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit.

It therefore behooves the Representatives of the Trades and Labor Unions of America, in Convention assembled, to adopt such measures and disseminate such principles among the mechanics and laborers of our country as will permanently unite them, to secure the recognition of the rights to which they are justly entitled.

We therefore declare ourselves in favor of the formation of a thorough Federation, embracing every Trade and Labor Organization in America, organized under the trade union system of organization.

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.—NAME.

Section 1. This association shall be known as "The American Federation of Labor," and shall consist of such Trade and Labor Unions as shall conform to its rules and regulations.

ARTICLE II.—OBJECTS.

Section 1. The objects of this Federation shall be the encouragement and formation of local Trade and Labor Unions, and the closer Federation of such societies through the organization of Central Trade and Labor Unions in every city, and the further combination of such bodies into State, Territorial or Provincial organizations, to secure legislation in the interest of the working masses.

Sec. 2. The establishment of National and International Trade Unions, based upon a strict recognition of the autonomy of each trade, and the promotion and advancement of such bodies.

Sec. 3. An American Federation of all National and International Trade Unions, to aid and assist each other; and, further more, to secure National Legislation in the interest of the working people, and influence public opinion, by peaceful and legal methods, in favor of Organized Labor.

Sec. 4. To aid and encourage the labor press of America.

ARTICLE III.—CONVENTION.

Section 1. The Convention of the Federation shall meet annually at 10 A. M., on the second Tuesday in December, at such place as the delegates have selected at the preceding Convention.

Sec. 2. At the opening of the Convention, the President shall take the chair and call the Convention to order and preside until his successor is elected.

Sec. 3. The following committees, consisting of five members each, shall be appointed by the President: 1st, Credentials; 2d, Rules and Order of Business; 3d, Report of President; 4th, Report of Secretary; 5th, Finance; 6th, Resolutions; 7th, Constitution; 8th, Organization; 9th, Labels and Boycotts.

ARTICLE IV.—REPRESENTATION.

Section 1. The basis of representation in the Convention shall be: From National or International Unions, for less than four thousand members, one delegate; four thousand or more, two delegates; eight thousand or more, three delegates; sixteen thousand or more, four delegates; thirty-two thousand or more, five delegates, and so on; and from each Local or District Trade organization or federated body, not connected with, or having a National or International head, affiliated with this Federation, one delegate.

Sec. 2. Questions may be decided by division or a show of hands, but if a call of the roll is demanded by one-fifth of the delegates present, each delegate shall cast one vote for every one hundred members, or major fraction thereof, he represents; but no City or State Federation shall be allowed more than one vote.

Sec. 3. No organization which has seceded or has been suspended or expelled from any National or International organization connected with the Federation, shall be allowed a representation or recognition in this Federation.

Sec. 4. No organization shall be entitled to representation unless such organization has applied for and obtained a certificate of affiliation at least one month prior to the Convention, from the President of the Federation.

Sec. 5. No Central Labor Union or City or State Federation of Labor, or any other central body of delegates, shall admit to their councils delegates from any local organization that owes its allegiance to any other body, National or International, not connected with this Federation, or hostile to any affiliated organization, or that has been suspended or expelled by a National or International organization of their trade, under penalty of being denied repre-

sensation in general conventions of this Federation.

ARTICLE V.—OFFICERS

Section 1. The Officers of the Federation shall consist of a President, two Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, and a Treasurer to be elected by the Convention.

Sec. 2. Should a vacancy in any office occur between the annual meetings of the Convention, such vacancy shall be filled by the President of the Federation, by and with the consent of the Executive Council. When a vacancy occurs in the office of President, the Vice-Presidents shall succeed in their respective order.

Sec. 3. The President and Secretary shall be members of the succeeding Convention in case they are not delegates, but without vote.

Sec. 4. All elective officers shall be members of a local organization connected with the American Federation of Labor.

ARTICLE VI.—DUTIES OF OFFICER.

Section 1. It shall be the duty of the President to preside at all general Conventions, to attend to all correspondence, publish a small quarterly circular on February 28, May 31, August 31, and November 30, receipt for all monies, pay all bills, and travel with the consent of the Executive Council, wherever required in the interest of the Federation. His salary shall be \$1,200 per year, payable weekly with mileage and expenses.

Sec. 2. The President shall have power to employ such clerical help as may be necessary, and at such salary as shall be fixed by the Executive Council. The President shall publish his financial report in the quarterly circular, and send ten copies to each affiliated body, and such additional number of copies as may be ordered and paid for by any organization connected with the Federation.

Sec. 3. It shall be the duty of the Secretary to keep the minutes of the Convention and to attend to such business as may be decided by the Executive Council.

ARTICLE VII.—EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

Section 1. The Officers shall be an Executive Council with power to watch legislative measures directly affecting the interests of working people, and to initiate, whenever necessary, such legislative action as the Convention may direct.

Sec. 2. The Executive Council shall use every possible means to organize new National or International Trade Unions, and to organize local Trade Unions and connect them with the Federation, until such time as there are a sufficient number to form a National or International Union, when it shall be the duty of the President of the Federation to see that such organization is formed.

Sec. 3. While we recognize the right of each trade to manage its own affairs, it shall be the duty of the Executive Council to secure the unification of all labor organizations, so far as to assist each other in any justifiable boycott, and with voluntary financial help of the organizations connected with the A. F. of L. in the event of a strike or lockout, when duly approved by the executive Council.

Sec. 4. When a strike has been approved by the Executive Council, the particulars of the difficulty, even if it be a lockout, shall be explained in a circular issued by the President of the Federation to the Unions affiliated therewith. It shall then be the duty of all affiliated societies to urge their Local Unions and members to make liberal financial donations in aid of the working people involved.

ARTICLE VIII.—REVENUE.

Section 1. The revenue of the Federation shall be derived as follows: From International and National Trade Unions, a per capita tax of one-fourth of one cent per member, per month; from Local Trade Unions and Federal Unions, one cent per member, per month; and from Central Labor Unions or City and State Federated bodies, \$25 per annum. All monies shall be payable to the President of the Federation.

Sec. 2. Delegates shall not be entitled to a seat in this Federation unless the tax of their organization, as provided for in Section 1 of this Article has been paid in full.

Sec. 3. Any organization, affiliated with this Federation, not paying its per capita tax on or before the 15th of each month, shall be notified of the fact by the President of the Federation, and if at the end of three months it is still in arrears it shall be suspended from membership in the Federation, and can only be reinstated by vote of the Convention, when such arrearsages are paid in full.

Sec. 4. Each society affiliated with this Federation, shall make a quarterly report of its standing and progress to the President of the Federation.

Sec. 5. Whenever the revenue of the Federation shall warrant such action, the Executive Council shall authorize the sending out of Trade Union speakers, from place to place, in the interests of the Federation.

Sec. 6. The funds of the Federation shall be banked under the supervision of three Trustees, who shall be elected by the Convention, and shall be residents of the same city with the Treasurer. The Trustees shall report quarterly to the President the amount so banked. No money shall be paid out only in conformity with the rules laid down by the Executive Council. The President and Treasurer shall give a bond of \$2,000 each, for the faithful performance of their duties.

Sec. 7. The accounts of the year shall be closed fourteen days prior to the assembling of the Convention, and a balance sheet, duly certified, shall be presented to the same.

Sec. 8. The remuneration for loss of time by members of the Executive Council or speakers engaged by them shall be \$3 per day and traveling and hotel expenses.

ARTICLE IX.—MISCELLANEOUS.

Section 1. In all questions not covered by this Constitution, the Executive Council shall have power to make rules to govern the same, and shall report accordingly to the Federation.

Sec. 2. Certificates of affiliation shall be granted by the President of the Federation, by and with the consent of the Executive Council, to all National and International, and local bodies affiliated with this Federation.

Sec. 3. Any seven wage workers of good character, and favorable to Trade Unions, and not members of any body affiliated with this Federation, who will subscribe to this Constitution, shall have the power to form a local body, to be known as a "Federal Labor Union," and they shall hold regular meetings for the purpose of strengthening and advancing

ing the Trades Union movement, and shall have the power to make their own rules in conformity with this Constitution, and shall be granted a local certificate by the President of this Federation, provided the request for a certificate be endorsed by the nearest Local or National Trades Union officials connected with this Federation.

Sec. 4. The certificate fee for affiliated bodies shall be \$5, payable to the President of the Federation, and which shall accompany the application.

Sec. 5. Where there are one or more Local Unions in any city, belonging to the National or International Union, affiliated with this

Federation, they may organize a Trades Assembly or Central Labor Union, or join such body, if already in existence.

ARTICLE X.—AMENDMENTS.

Section 1. This Constitution can be amended or altered only at a regular session of the Convention, and to do so, it shall require a two-thirds vote.

WILLIAM WEIHE,
ROBERT Y. OGG,
SAMUEL GOLDWATER,
FRANCIS FILDEW,
JOHN S. KIRCHNER,
Committee on Constitution.

NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES ATTENDING THE THIRD ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, THE NAMES OF THE ORGANIZATIONS AND THE NUMBER OF SUBORDINATE UNIONS OR BRANCHES REPRESENTED.

NAME OF SOCIETY REPRESENTED.	NUMBER OF DELEGATES.	Number of Unions or Branches.	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES.
American Flint Glass Workers' Union	1	87	William J. Dillon, Room 16, Excelsior Block, Pittsburg, Pa.
Bakers. Journeymen's National Union	1	72	Aug. Delabar, 7-11 New Chambers St., New York, N. Y.
Brewers' National Union	1	51	Charles F. Bechtold, Central Turner Hall, St. Louis, Mo.
Boilermakers' International Union of America	1	12	Robert Bower, 5 Smart Street, Chicago, Ill.
Carpenters' and Joiners' of America, United Brotherhood of	4	496	W. J. Shields, 10 Cheshire St., Jamaica Plain, Mass. W. H. Kliver, Grand Crossing, Cook Co., Ill. H. Blackmore, 2507 Dodder Street, St. Louis, Mo. F. Fildew, 659 Sixth Street, Detroit, Mich.
Cigarmakers' International Union of America	4	263	Samuel Gompers, 21 Clinton Place, New York. Fred Haller, 441 Elm Street, Buffalo, N. Y. John S. Kirchner, 355 North Fourth Street, Philadelphia, Pa. J. F. Mahoney, Windsor, Conn.
Coal Miners' Benevolent and Protective Association, of Illinois ..	2	32	Daniel McLaughlin, Box 26, Braidwood, Ill. P. H. Donnelly, Drawer 3127, Springfield, Ill.
Coal Miners' Amalgamated Association of Ohio	2	250	Alexander Johnson, Box 4, Nelsonville, Athens Co., O. Chris Evans, Box 107, New Straitsville, Ohio.
Coal Miners' Federated Association of Indiana	1	31	P. H. Penna, Carbon, Clay Co., Ind.
Furniture Workers' International Union	1	27	Henry Emrich, 339 East 21st St., New York.
Granite Cutters' National Union of America	1	60	David Archie, 2310 Eugenia Street, St. Louis, Mo.

NAME OF SOCIETY REPRESENTED.	NUMBER OF DELEGATES.	Number of Unions or Branches.	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES.
Horse Collar Makers' National Union	1	23	Thomas Holland, St. Louis, Mo.
Iron Molders' Union of North America.....	3	249	P. F. Fitzpatrick, Box 388, Cincinnati, Ohio John G. Weaver, Box 388, Cincinnati, Ohio. James P. Hooley, Troy, N. Y.
Iron and Steel Workers, National Amalgamated Association of....	3	173	William Weihe, 512-514 Smithfield St., Pittsburg, Pa. William Martin, 512-514 Smithfield St., Pittsburg, Pa. James H. Nutt, 624 Alice St., Youngstown, Ohio.
Metal Workers' National Union of North America.....	1	14	George W. Appel, 915 East Pratt St., Baltimore, Md.
Painters and Decorators of America, Brotherhood of.....	1	118	A. W. Anderson, 20.3 Division Street, St. Louis, Mo.
Shoe Lasters' New England Protective Union.....	1	81	Edward L. Daley, Box 219, Lynn, Mass. N. Forsberg, 420 Market Street, St. Louis, Mo.
Tailors' (Custom), National Union.	2	40	Henry H. Werdes 1700 Cass Ave., St. Louis, Mo. Chas. F. Taylor, Louisville, Ky. R. Y. Ogg, 180 Wabash Ave., Detroit, Mich.
Typographical International Union	4	294	O. R. Lake, — Olive Street, St. Louis, Mo. E. C. Ives, St. Paul, Minn. Hugo Miller, 155 Park Row, New York.
Typographia, German American Builders Laborers Union, No. 2476, of Syracuse, N. Y.....	1	20	Jas. J. Cain, 126 Madison Street, Syracuse, N. Y.
Box Sawyers' and Nailers' Union, No. 1, of St. Louis, Mo.....	1	1	Robert L. Volz, 1323 North Eleventh Street, St. Louis, Mo.
Federal Labor Union No. 2114, of New York.....	1	1	Hugh McGregor, 421 East Fourteenth Street, New York.
Progressive Tile-Layers' Union of New York.....	1	1	John McIver, 100 East 118th Street, New York.
Waiters' Union of St. Louis, Mo....	1	1	Ernest Reinhardt, St. Louis, Mo.
Central Labor Union of Boston, Mass.....	1	29	F. K. Foster, 595 Washington Street, Boston, Mass.
Central Labor Union of Brooklyn, N. Y.....	1	82	J. H. Perry, 293 South Third Street, Brooklyn, E. D., N. Y.
Central Labor Union of Cleveland, Ohio	1	7	Fred Ackerman, 89 Penn St., Cleveland, O.
Federation of Labor, Baltimore, Maryland	1	22	Samuel B. Hasson, 38 North Eden St., Baltimore, Md.
Federated Trades Council, Milwaukee, Wis.....	1	9	E. Applehagen, 610 State Street, Milwaukee, Wis.
State Federation of New Jersey..	2	52	Jos. P. McDonnell, Labor Standard, Patterson, N. J. Samuel Mellor, Trenton, N. J.
Trade and Labor Council, Detroit, Mich	1	15	Samuel Goldwater, 125 21st Street, Detroit, Mich.
Trade and Labor Assembly, Chicago, Ill.....	1	56	John W. La Vine, 128 South Clark St., Chicago, Ill.
Trades and Labor Assembly, St. Louis, Mo.....	1	40	David Erbleding, St. Louis, Mo. Frank A. Hill (alternate), 101 South Fourteenth Street, St. Louis, Mo.

This roll shows 51 delegates representing 34 organizations, with 2,797 subordinate unions or branches, and a total membership of 587,000 members in good standing. This does not include the Federal Clubs and Local Unions affiliated with the A. F. of L., and not sending delegates to the St. Louis Convention.

THIRD ANNUAL CONVENTION

OF THE

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

1888

Report of Proceedings. First Day—Morning Session.

Central Turner Hall,

St. Louis, Mo., Dec. 11, 1888.

The Third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor met at Central Turner Hall, St. Louis, Mo., precisely at twelve o'clock noon, Dec. 11, 1888. Mr. Samuel Compers, President of the Federation opened the proceedings, and Mr. P. J. McGuire officiated as Secretary.

Mr. S. S. Bass of St. Louis, in behalf of the citizens of St. Louis, bade the delegates a hearty welcome, and Prof. C. M. Woodward of the Washington University, St. Louis, addressed the Convention on the importance of Industrial Education as exemplified in the system of manual training.

President Compers in a few remarks returned the thanks of the Convention to Mr. Bass and Prof. Woodward for their kindly greetings, whereupon the Convention proceeded to business and the President appointed the following:

Committee on Credentials—William Martin, J. G. Weaver, J. F. Mahoney, P. H. Donnelly, and Thomas Holland.

The Convention then adjourned at 1:10 P. M. to meet at 3 P. M.

Adjourned.

Afternoon Session.

Convention reassembled at 3 P. M., President Compers presided. Minutes of morning session read and approved.

Chairman Martin of the Committee on Credentials reported progress in behalf of that committee and asked further time to complete their report. On motion one hour's further time was granted the committee.

By unanimous consent, it was decided to appoint a Committee on Rules, consisting of five:

Committee on Rules—Hugo Miller, J. H. Perry, Aug. Delabar, J. H. Penna, and Samuel Hasson.

The Convention then took a recess until 4 P. M.

Recess taken.

Convention reassembled at 4 P. M. Committee on Credentials reported as follows:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS.

St. Louis, Mo., December 11, 1888.

Mr. President—We, your Committee on Credentials, beg leave to report the following delegates are entitled to seats and votes in this Convention:

(See list of delegates on pages 5 and 6.)

In the matter of Thomas Shaw, Delegate of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners, your committee, on investigation, learned that a protest against the issuance of a certificate of affiliation has been entered, and that this subject matter will be brought before the attention of this Convention at a later period. We, therefore, recommend that the question of seating the delegates from that organization be deferred until after the matter herein referred to is disposed of.

In the case of the delegate, J. T. Hardy, who presents credentials from the St. Louis Branch, No. 2, of the Stationary Engineers, your committee find that said organization of Engineers is not as yet affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and we regret our inability to report favorably on his admission.

Respectfully submitted,

WILLIAM MARTIN,

J. F. MAHONEY,

P. H. DONNELLY,

JOHN G. WEAVER,

THOMAS HOLLAND,

Committee.

(Signed.)

After a full explanation of the report, on motion, the report of the Committee on Credentials was adopted as read.

Secretary Perry, of the Committee on Rules, reported as follows:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RULES.

St. Louis, December 11, 1888.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Convention:

Your Committee on Rules hereby present the following rules for the government of the sessions:

1. The Convention shall be called to order

at 9 A. M., adjourn at 12, to re-assemble at 1:30, and adjourn at 5:30, and at the appointed time the Chairman shall call the convention to order.

2. During the hours of meeting, no delegate will be allowed to leave the room, unless on special business.

3. Every delegate, when he rises to speak, shall respectfully address the Chair. While speaking, he shall confine himself to the question.

4. Should two or more rise to speak at the same time, the Chair shall decide who is entitled to the floor.

5. No delegate shall interrupt another in his remarks, unless to call him to order for words spoken.

6. If a delegate, while speaking, be called to order, he shall, at the request of the Chair, take his seat until the question of order is determined, when, if permitted, he may proceed again.

7. A delegate shall not speak more than once on the same subject or question until all who wish to speak shall have had an opportunity to do so; nor more than twice without permission from the house; nor any longer than five minutes at one time, without permission.

8. A question shall not be subject to debate until it has been seconded and stated from the Chair, and it shall be reduced to writing at the request of any member.

9. When a question is before the house no motion shall be in order except to adjourn, to refer, for the previous question to postpone indefinitely, to postpone for a certain time, or divide, or to amend, which motions shall severally have precedence in the order herein arranged.

10. A motion to lay on the table shall be put without debate.

11. A motion for a reconsideration shall not be received unless made by a delegate who voted in the majority, and shall require a two-third vote.

12. Any delegate who shall misbehave himself in the meeting, or disturb the harmony or order thereof, either by abusive, disorderly or profane language, or shall refuse obedience to the presiding officer, shall be admonished of his offense from the Chair, and if he offend again he shall be excluded from the room for the session, and afterward be dealt with as the convention may determine.

13. Any delegate who may not be present when the last name on the roll has been called shall be marked absent by the Secretary.

THE PRESIDENT'S REPORT.

Delegates to the Third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Fellow-Workmen: Today again the representatives of the grand and historically developed organizations of labor, the trade unions, meet in council to cheer, aid and comfort each other and to devise through our deliberations methods by which we may perpetuate the continuity of our glorious movement, to zealously devote our energies to the amelioration and emancipation of our class from a thralldom the most cruel and oppressive in the world's history.

The benefit that the American Federation of Labor has been, in the period of its existence, to the toiling masses of our country is more, probably, than will be told before generations to come. Enough is, however, known to justify us in saying that the movement as exemplified by our organization, the aid and encouragement it has given the trade union movement, the hope it has instilled into our fellowworkers to struggle on and on in the contest to obtain the rights and privileges due us by reason of our daily exertions should give us sincere gratification.

There is scarcely a division of thought upon the question that the workers, being the producers of all the wealth of the world, should at least enjoy more of the results of their toil.

*In these proceedings the names of delegates making motions, amendments, etc., are omitted to save space.

14. All questions not herein provided for shall be decided according to Cushing's Manual.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

1. Roll call of officers and delegates.
2. Reading minutes of previous day's session.

3. Report of Committee on Credentials.

4. Reports of officers.

5. Reports of regular committee.

6. Reports of special committees.

7. Unfinished business.

8. New business.

9. Election and installment of officers.

10. Good of the Federation.

11. Adjournment.

All of which is respectfully submitted,

HUGO MILLER, Chairman.

SAMUEL B. HASSON.

P. H. PENNA.

AUG. DELABAR.

(Signed). JAMES H. PERRY, Secretary.

*Amended to strike out 5:30 P. M. and insert 5 P. M.

An amendment to the amendment was offered to strike out 1:30 P. M. and insert 2 P. M., and strike out 5:30 P. M. and insert 6 P. M. The amendment to the amendment prevailed by a vote of 23 to 15.

An amendment was then offered to strike out 9 A. M. and insert 8:30 A. M. Amendment lost by a vote of 15 to 20.

Moved to strike out section 12 of the report of the committee in regard to any possible disorder in the meetings. Adopted unanimously.

On motion, the report of the Committee on Rules, was adopted as amended, so that the hours of meeting were fixed at from 9 A. M. to 12 o'clock, noon, and from 2 P. M. to 6 P. M., and section 12 was stricken out.

First Vice-President Daniel McLaughlin was called to the Chair, and President Gompers then proceeded to read his Annual Report, which was presented in printed form and a copy supplied to each delegate.

The report is as follows:

On every hand we see fortunes amassing, elegant mansions and immense business houses rearing, we see the intricate machinery in its rotary motions, the genius of man, all applied to the production of the wealth of the world; and yet in face of this thousands of our poor, helpless brothers and sisters, strong, able-bodied, willing to work, unable to find it! Hungry and emaciated without sufficient to properly nourish the body or to maintain the mental balance. On the other hand, others bent by their long continued drudgery, and unrequited toil.

While these wrongs have been upon the body politic of our people from ages gone by, we can yet trace the improvements in the condition of the people by reason of our various organizations. Wherever the working people have manifested their desire for improvement by organization, there as with a magic wand improvement has taken place; wherever the working people are the poorest, most degraded and miserable, there can we find the greatest lack of organization; and in the same degree as the basis of the organization is improved, there can we see the greater improvement in the material, moral and social condition of the people. There are some who believe that it is necessary that the condition of the people shall become worse in order to move them to action, to bring about the best results. How far from the truth, how illogical this proposition is can be easily seen when we essay to follow it out to its legitimate conclusion. If the poverty of the working people of the world was the factor that moved them to action and more prosperous conditions, China ought to be at the head of civilization. On the contrary we see that it is through the gradual process of evolution, the improved habits and customs, that instill into the minds of the people a recognition of the wrongs from which they suffer. The more the improved conditions prevail, the greater discontent prevails with any wrongs that may exist. It is only through the enlightenment begotten from material prosperity that makes it at all possible for mental advancement. Encouraged as we feel by reason of the successes attained in the past, it behooves us to nerve ourselves with a stronger determination to conquer all that partakes of wrong and injustice and to achieve the success that shall bring us to that goal for which our whole past stands out as the preparatory ground.

OUR PROGRESS.

In the past year, when the tendency in all other directions of the labor movement to disintegration of membership has been going on and interest in their organization laxing, we may justly pride ourselves when we know that the trade union movement has not only maintained but actually increased its numerical strength. In my reports to the last Convention I called attention to the fact of the organizations to properly fill out the blanks forwarded to them; failure of several of our organizations to the office I take pleasure in stating that what with the new organizations formed, and the accession of numbers in the unions already affiliated, the American Federation of Labor stands today with an increase of membership over that of last year.

EIGHT-HOUR WORK-DAY.

In my last report I called your attention to the fact of the immense number of our fellow toilers who, through the invention and development of machinery as applied to the industries, that are being continually thrown out of employment. When thousands and hundreds of thousands of our fellow working men and women, through no fault of their own, are consigned to be paupers, tramps or worse, while all become competitors for the labor of those who are fortunate enough to find employment, I then, as now, laid particular emphasis upon the question that strikes deeper into the evils of society than all others combined, that question which raises man out of the sloughs of poverty and despair, that question which reaches the farthest ramifications of society, that question which creates the greatest revolution in the conditions of the people with the slightest friction upon any, that question of all questions.

THE REDUCTION IN THE HOURS OF LABOR.

Since my last report, the conditions of trade have certainly not improved, and the numbers then stated must largely have been added to by reason of this fact. When we find on the one hand the working people forced upon either one or the other horn of a dilemma, the acceptance of low wages or going without employment by reason of the vast army of our unemployed, it seems to me to be not only the consideration of humanity to find employment for those who are willing to work and cannot find it, but the consideration of the most material of our interests, that of making our employment more steady, making our wages more stable and less liable to reduction, demand us to

REDUCE THE HOURS OF LABOR TO EIGHT PER DAY.

It is true, as many say, that the eight-hour movement of 1886 was not entirely successful; it is also true that no movement that has for its purpose the improvement of the conditions of a whole people ever could succeed in its first, aye, even in its second attempt. It is always a hard struggle to achieve any improvement, but the benefits which we gained in 1886 and since then by reason of the eight-hour movement are sufficient to encourage us to make the venture again. We should not lose sight of the fact that as a result of the movement of 1886 there have been a number of trades that reduced their hours of labor from ten and twelve to eight; others again from twelve and fourteen to ten and nine, and many thousands of workingmen who before that time worked from fourteen to eighteen hours a day have had the hours of their labor reduced to twelve. It has been estimated that more than eight million hours of labor have been spared the toiler! In other words, employment has been found for thousands who would otherwise be in want of it.

There is no question as to the justice of our movement, and there can be no doubt as to success if we are but earnest, sincere and energetic in organization and in its agitation. If we exhibit a proper spirit in directing our movement to the achievement of this object, we shall have on our side all the thoughtful men in the country; we shall have the professional classes;

HELP STRUGGLING UNIONS.

There can be no doubt that in the past considerable help has been given by the organizations to others in a weakly condition, aiding and assisting them to strengthen National and International Trade Unions. I feel, however, that much more could be done in this direction, and ask you to do all that lies in your power to help by every means at your command organizations that may need your assistance.

Pursuant to a resolution of the Executive Council, I have prepared and had printed a Manual, Working, Traveling, and Membership Cards; Books of all kinds; Seals,—in fact, the entire paraphernalia or outfits for organization, supplying them at a little above actual cost.

ORGANIZERS.

Pursuant to a resolution of the Executive Council, I have appointed eighty organizers, who, without pay or hope of reward, are devoting themselves zealously and earnestly to the propagation of trade union objects and the organization of trade unions, and as fast transferring them through this office to the National organizations of their respective trades, and in numerous other instances building up local trade unions and federal labor unions. Since their appointment I can bear this testimony to their integrity and sincerity of purpose, and here take occasion to say that I doubt if ever man was more fortunate in surrounding himself with so large a number of coadjutors to aid him in the performance of his duties, or that any cause was ever blessed with more zealous advocates. It is needless to add that where these local trade unions have been formed, National unions will be instituted among them as soon as the opportunity affords. It is gratifying to report that two such National organizations have been formed within the past year, while two others are affiliated with the Federation.

BENEFICIAL FEATURES IN UNIONS.

I am aware that some of the Unions affiliated with the Federation have lost in membership within the past year, I am led to the belief, however, that it is due to well-defined causes. What is bad in other organizations cannot be got rid of in a trade union. The same causes invariably bring about the same results, and in each of the instances referred to, in which there has been a falling off in the membership, it has been mainly due to the fact, that less attention was paid to the perfection of their organization than to pompous or useless agitation. As a rule, the most intelligent workmen can always be relied upon to remain members of their organizations time to time through prosperity or adversity. The interests of the men who have no inclination or ability or from the union as to makes it a direct and decided loss to them to sever their connection with that end than to make our unions beneficial and benevolent, as well as protective.

MINERS.

During my travels in the interest of the Federation, circumstances brought me in contact with the miners and mine laborers. I had frequently heard and read the conditions under which they worked and the manner in which they lived; but I frankly confess that word-pictures fail utterly to portray the misery prevailing among these hard-working people—delving in the mines by day, which is practically night to them, working from early morn until late in the night, risking their lives day after day to supply us with that most precious diamond, coal; going to their miserable hovels of homes, compelled to deal in the pluck-me stores, and seeing no money from one year's beginning to the end of the next, brings them practically to a state of peonage. I say that I was shocked in the extreme. It is a notable fact, however, that in the same proportion as the condition of the miner is more miserable and degraded, can be traced the lack of organization. Is it any wonder, then, that we hail with joy and gratification the movement that has just culminated in the amalgamation of the coal miners and mine laborers of the country under the head of one grand organization? It behooves us to give that movement an impetus by our aid and encouragement. I may be permitted to add that the coalition of the embryo trade unions are fast arriving at a mature state.

FEMALE LABOR.

In my last report I said, "We know to our regret that too often our wives, sisters, and children are brought into the factory and workshops, only to reduce the wages and displace the labor of men the heads of families. First and foremost we should bend our energies to the organization of laboring women into trade unions and secure education for the children." I am pleased to report that within the last twelve months many workingwomen of our country in several industries have been emancipated from false sentiment in the labor movement and organized upon the practical basis of trade unions, and in each of the instances referred to a material improvement in their economic and social conditions has been the result. I again recommend that special attention be paid by our friends and fellow-toilers to aid and encourage, with all the means at our command, the organization of trade unions among women and girls, so that they may learn the stern fact, that if they desire to achieve any improvement in their condition, it must be through their own self-assertion in the trade union.

CHILD LABOR.

So far as the labor of children is concerned, it is the same sad story; the exploitation of the tender and young, drawn into the factory, into the shop, into the mill, into the mine, and the stores by the drag-net of modern capitalism, frequently to supplant the labor of their parents; robbed in their infancy of the means of an education, dwarfed both in mind and body,

what may we expect of the future manhood and womanhood of America? Apart from all material considerations, humanity and patriotism crys aloud against this great wrong of our time. I am conscious of the fact that the general Government under present condition, can do very little towards bringing about a change in this deplorable state of affairs; but I urge upon you, as I do upon all the working people of our country, to do all that lies in your power in the various states to see that a law shall be passed, absolutely prohibiting the employment of any child in any occupation until it shall have arrived at least, at the age of fourteen years. I repeat what I said one year ago, "children must be protected alike from the ignorance and greed of their parents, as well as the rapacious avarice of their employers."

EDUCATION.

During the past year hundreds of thousands of circulars were distributed by the Federation among the unions and individuals, containing a clear and definite exposition of the purposes of the Trade Union movement as understood and exemplified by the American Federation of Labor. The prize essay on Trade Unions, by Mr. William Trant, with a brief history of the American Federation of Labor, and a sketch of the National and International Trade Unions by our worthy Secretary, Mr. P. J. Maguire, were published by the Federation. I am pleased to report that the pamphlet has had a very wide circulation, so far as my knowledge goes, larger than any other document of a similar character in the entire country. I am also pleased to state that it is now going through its fourth edition.

Much has been said of late upon the subject of the education of the masses. Many self-constituted teachers presume to address the working people in so paternal a fashion as to bring about very frequently the opposite of the results desired. There is no doubt much can be taught by the leaders of thought in the labor movement; but to my mind there is more to be learned by them from the masses by mingling with and ascertaining and voicing their wants and present necessities. Let us aid the people to achieve an immediate and necessary change and they will want others. Let us keep in the line with them, and we will exhibit our intelligence, our ability to grasp the situation and deserve and earn their confidence. There is more to be learned by the people by actual experience than by all the speeches that could be made to them in a lifetime.

The Federation is indebted to Secretary McGuire for the gratuitous presentation of the plates from which the pamphlet, above referred to, was printed.

FOSTER AND ARMSTRONG MEMORIALS.

In compliance with your orders to donate a sum of money towards memorials to be erected in honor of our deceased co-laborers William H. Foster and Thomas A. Armstrong the Executive Committee donated fifty dollars in each instance. The matter of administration and legislation ordered by the last convention have been attended to in every instance, and I invite inquiry of the delegates upon the various subjects referred to the Executive Council and by them referred to the President.

PER CAPITA.

In the matter of the per capita tax paid by the affiliated organizations, permit me to direct your attention to the fact that there are several instances of organizations affiliated in which it requires a greater outlay to receive their per capita than if it were no paid at all. I would recommend that there be an even classification of per capita so that this may be obviated. I would recommend that they be divided into three classes, the per capita of the National and International Unions to remain as it is at present, and that of the Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions to be one cent, and that the central bodies may make part payments of their delegate tax monthly. Many of these organizations are under the impression that they can only pay it annually, and fail to be represented by reason of the fact of their non-payment of anything during the entire year, and it being too large an amount to be paid at one time.

It becomes my duty to submit for your consideration the matter of two applications for certificates of affiliation, against the issuance of which protests were made.

Early in the year an application was received from a Musical Union of Baltimore. They proposed to organize a Brotherhood of Musicians. The Executive Council approved of the application, but a protest having been made, it was decided to refer the matter to this Convention.

The second instance is an application of the American District of the Amalgamated Carpenters and Joiners. The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America entered a protest against a certificate being issued to that body. The basis of the complaint, together with all the correspondence upon the subject, will be laid before you so that you may act intelligently and justly upon it.

TRAVELLED.

During the year I have travelled more than twenty thousand miles through the country, from Maine to Colorado, to the South and the extreme Northwest, visiting and speaking at meetings in more than one hundred cities and towns. Taking this with the other work connected with the office, permit me to assure you that I have devoted my entire time and best efforts in directing the movement in the line and for the purposes for which it was founded.

POLITICAL ACTION.

Many delegates may feel, and I have heard that the matter would be brought to the attention of this convention, the desirability of forming a third, or what is known as an independent, political party; but in view of recent experience, I can only say that such action, for the present at least, would be in the extreme unwise. If we are zealous and earnest in the advocacy of agitation and desire the enforcement of the eight-hour workday, it will require all we can possibly do to muster all our efforts and concentrate our power upon its attainment. The

experiences of the past have taught that we may and can obtain great practical results, both political as well as economical, by creating a healthy public opinion if we devote ourselves energetically to our organization, the development and maintenance of our trade unions.

OTHER ORGANIZATIONS.

Of our relations with other labor organizations I can say that our position has not and is not likely to materially change. The Federation, being the representative of the trade union movement, can afford to be generous, even to its enemies. The trade unions have no flatulent existence; they were not called into being by any necromancy. Their existence is the natural and historically developed result of our economic conditions and environments.

LABOR CONGRESSES.

The International Labor Congress, recently held in England, cannot, according to the latest information, be considered as having been highly successful, owing, no doubt, to conditions to which I will refer hereafter. In conformity with the instructions of the Executive Council I forward to the congress a letter of congratulation, and calling their attention to the causes of our non-representation. I made several suggestions as to what we deemed of the greatest importance to the welfare of the working people of the world.

It is proposed to hold an International Labor Congress in France in the summer of 1889, to attend which all labor organizations have been invited; while in the autumn of the same year another International Labor Congress is to be called by the Social Democrats of Germany to be held in Switzerland. Of course, of the advisability of calling International Labor Congresses, each within a few months of the other, there may exist some doubt. As to being represented as Trade Unions at either, it seems to me that we shall be destined to wait until the Trade Unions of Continental Europe shall have had more opportunity to develop before anything like harmonious or successful results may be expected, and it is the lack of this development to which I before referred. I am pleased, however, to report that the friendly relations with the European Trade Unions has been continued. Of the Knights of Labor, I can merely say that their conduct towards the Trade Unions within the past year has not improved. It has seemed, whether by design or otherwise, to be their purpose that when a Trades Union has had a dispute between their employer and themselves, to throw the influence of their organization against the toilers. During the past year they have had several successes (?) when trade disputes were in progress, but in each instance it was the side of the corporation or the unfair employer.

While in Philadelphia a few months ago upon official business of the Federation, an intimation was given me that an interview between Mr. Powderly and myself would be agreeable, for the purpose of discussing the question of harmony or co-operation of effort of the American Federation of Labor and the Knights, with a view of putting an end to the vexatious questions, that have estranged the two organizations; your President consented, and accompanied by Secretary McGuire, the interview took place. A general conversation was indulged in and a promise made that we should meet again before the Knights' convention and endeavor to arrive at some tangible conclusion or basis the next week. A letter was subsequently sent by us to Mr. Powderly stating the advisability of a conference taking place the following day. Mr. Powderly answered that he would not be in the city at that time, but would return in about a week from then, when a farther conference would be agreeable to him. I am credibly informed that Mr. Powderly had not left Philadelphia on the day named, and since then I regret to say that I have not heard from him.

INDUSTRIAL DIVISIONS.

The thought has frequently occurred to me whether in the near future the basis of our Federation should not be modelled upon a somewhat different basis from the present one, by having the various industries classified by the divisions of these industries; such as, for instance, the iron, steel, or metal industry to have a convention of the representatives of all the trade unions in that industry; the building trades to have their convention of the representatives of the unions in their trade; the railroad employees theirs, and so on, each legislating upon the questions that affect the general interests of their particular trades and interests; these industrial divisions to be in turn represented by their proportionate number of delegates in the convention of the American Federation of Labor, and a representative of each industry elected a member of the Executive Council.

The convention of the industrial divisions might be held simultaneously in different halls, of course, but in the city in which the Federation would hold its convention immediately after their adjournment. The idea may not be practical for immediate adoption, but discussion of it can only lead to good results. One thing is certain—the autonomy of each trade and industrial division would thus be more firmly secured.

CONCLUSION.

In concluding this report permit me to express my keen sense of obligation to my colleagues on the Executive Council, to whom I am greatly indebted for their co-operation and devotion to our cause. Advice and suggestion, when tendered was always in a courteous manner and in a spirit that bespoke experience, honesty, and sincerity of purpose. Each in his turn a veteran in the noble cause of labor, championing the cause of the toiling masses in and out of season, when to be known as a union man meant economic, political and social ostracism. It is not superfluous to say that I have felt more than honored to be the associate of such men. And now, in closing my official relations with them, I desire to bear this testimony of their worth and excellence.

The fraternal greetings I have received at the hands of the officers and members of the National, International and Local Trade Unions wherever I have travelled and with whom I have

been in correspondence all manifest the identity of purpose and potent lever of fraternal relations that bind the great family of Trade Unions in a hearty accord. It should be our object to weld our Unions still closer together, yet without strictly maintaining the autonomy of each. The American Federation of Labor, with its affiliated organizations, should be as distinct as the billows, yet one as the sea.

Fellow delegates, much of the prosperity our efforts have been crowned with it due to the dignified and manly conduct of our fellow trade unionists—the wise and practical measures taken to achieve the rights of labor and battle against the wrongs of which we so justly complain. Much may depend upon a false step or an illy-considered measure. Let us avoid as far as we possibly can all controversial questions upon which we might encounter a fatal rock of dissension. Rather let us postpone such measures, though many may see the justice of them, until a greater degree of unanimity is achieved. If we concentrate our efforts and the result of our experiences upon the attainment of those rights and the abolition of those wrongs upon which labor is practically agreed we shall attain the minimum of defeat and the maximum of success. Let us each contribute the zeal, devotion and enthusiasm of which our cause is worthy, and we shall have performed our duty to our fellow toilers, the human family, and earn the devout praise and gratitude of countless millions yet unborn.

The reading of the report was interspersed by frequent outbursts of applause, which broke out in prolonged enthusiasm at its close.

Moved that a special committee of seven be appointed to act on that part of the report of the President regarding the eight-hour movement and report at the earliest possible moment. This motion occasioned some debate.

Moved that the Report of the President be referred to the Committee on President's Report, and that to-morrow morning we proceed into committee of the whole to consider the Eight Hour question. This motion was lost and the motion to appoint a special committee of seven finally prevailed.

President Gompers then appointed the following committees:

Committee on President's Report—William J. Dillon, Frank K. Foster, Alexander Johnson, Henry Emrich, and W. H. Klier.

Committee on Secretary's Report—Charles F. Taylor, Robert Bower, J. W. La Vine, R. C. Volz, and James J. Cain.

Committee on Constitution—William Weihe, Robert Y. Ogg, Francis Bildey, John S. Kirchner, and Samuel Goldwater.

Committee on Finance—Chris. Evans, David Archie, James H. Nutt, H. Werdes, and E. Reinhardt.

Committee on Organization—W. J. Shields, George W. Appel, A. W. Anderson, N. Forsberg, and H. McIver.

Committee on Resolutions—Fred Haller, P. F. Fitzpatrick, Edward L. Daly, H. Blackmore, and David Erbleiding.

Committee on Labels and Boycotts—Daniel McLaughlin, Charles F. Bechtold, Fred Ackerman, Emil Applehagen, and Hugh McGregor.

After the reading of telegrams and letters of greeting from various parties the Convention then closed its first day's session at 6 P. M., to meet again the following day at 9 A. M.

Adjourned.

SECOND DAY—Morning Session.

St. Louis, Mo., Dec. 12, 1888.

The second day's session of the Convention was held in Central Turner Hall, and opened at 9 A. M., sharp. President Gompers in the Chair, and P. J. McGuire, Secretary.

Roll call showed the following absentees: Absentees—Delabar, Bower, Holland, Taylor, Forsberg, Werdes, Erbleiding, and McIver. Minutes of previous session read and approved.

Credentials of Messrs. O. R. Lake and E. C. Ives, two additional delegates of the International Typographical Union, were reported on favorably by the Committee on Credentials, and on motion the delegates were admitted to seats and votes in the Convention.

President Gompers then appointed the following special committee:

Committee on Eight-Hour Question—John S. Kirchner, W. J. Dillon, Henry Emrich, Frank

K. Foster, William Martin, Alexander Johnson, and W. H. Klier.

Moved, all resolutions be referred to Committee on Resolutions without reading or debate. Moved to lay said motion on the table; motion to lay on the table prevailed.

Reports of committees were called for but none were read to report, so to give time for committee work, the Convention then took a recess at 10:15 A. M. to reassemble at 2 P. M. the same day.

Recess taken.

Afternoon Session.

Convention reassembled at 2 P. M. President Gompers in the Chair, P. J. McGuire, secretary.

Roll call showed the following absentees: Holland, Taylor, Forsberg, and Applehagen.

Minutes of morning session read and approved.

Communications were then read from the Tin and Sheet Iron Workers' International Union, New York State Branch of the American Federation of Labor, Oystermen's Union No. 1, of New York, and The Trades'

Assembly of Denver, Colorado, also a telegram from the Rev. Wilbur F. Crafts, Washington, D. C.

Referred to appropriate committees.

The financial report of Mr. Gabriel Edmonston, Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, was next read.

REPORT OF TREASURER.

Washington, December 9, 1888.
To the Officers and Delegates of the Third Session of the American Federation of Labor:

Gentlemen:—I have the honor to submit for your consideration a report of the finances for the past year.

I submit this report in the form of a general statement (which consumes less of your valuable time in the reading of it,) and leave to an inspection of my book from page 12 to 37 for a full account of the items of receipts and expenditures.

Upon inspection, you will no doubt observe the growth of a regularity in the payment of dues by the several organizations composing this body. This regularity is, of itself, a sufficient indication of the determination of our fellow-workmen to stand together in defence of the "Alma Mater" of our rights; and must encourage you to continue your efforts to perfect our organization.

In surrendering the trust with which you have honored me during the past year, I desire to again return my thanks to the members of the Executive Council for their uniform kindness and courtesy throughout my term.

BALANCE SHEET FOR THE YEAR ENDING NOVEMBER 30, 1888.*

RECEIPTS.

Cash on hand December 1, 1887.....	\$ 25 95
Charter fees	345 00
Capita tax	3,585 48
Delegate tax	151 26
Proceedings and pamphlets	348 87
Supplies	81 94
Total	\$4,538 50

EXPENSES.

Printing	\$ 703 25
Printing <i>The Union Advocate</i>	71 18
Stationery	60 65
Postage, telegrams, and expressage.....	255 38
Office fixtures and utensils	76 04
Rent, light, and fuel.....	297 50
Charter fees returned	15 00
Delegate tax returned.....	20 00
Supplies	37 00
Donations for memorial stones	100 00
Traveling and organizing	249 50
Sundries	21 97
Clerk's salary and other services.....	826 20
President's salary	1,200 00
Total	\$3,933 67
Cash on hand November 30, 1888.....	604 83
Sum Total	\$4,538 50

(Signed.) G. EDMONSTON, Treasurer.

On motion the report of the Treasurer was referred to the Committee on Finance.

The Committee on President's Report submitted the subjoined report:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON PRESIDENT'S REPORT.

Your committee respectfully report as follows:

1. Organization was effected with Wm. J. Dillon, of the Flint Glass Workers' Union as chairman, and Frank K. Foster, of the Central Labor Union of Boston and vicinity, as secretary.

THE EIGHT-HOUR WORK DAY.

2. By instruction of the Convention, it was voted to refer that portion of the address relative to eight hours to the special committee of seven appointed to consider that subject.

*The detailed report of receipts and expenses has been published regularly by the President, and sent in circular form quarterly to all affiliated bodies. Hence there is no necessity to repeat these details in the publication of these proceedings.

PROPER RETURNS OF REPORTS.

3. It was voted to refer the recommendation of the President relative to requiring officers of affiliated bodies to more promptly fill out the blank sent them by the Federation to the Committee on Constitution.

THE IMPORTATION OF FOREIGN AND ALIEN LABOR.

4. We recommend that the Executive Council of the Federation be instructed to use its best endeavors to secure the most rigid enforcement of the law prohibiting the importation of foreign and alien labor under contract and that wherever violations of the law are brought to its attention, it shall prosecute the violators to the full extent of the penalty.

A GENERAL STRIKE ASSESSMENT.

5. In regard to a strike assessment on affiliated unions we recommend the reference of the establishing such a fund to the popular vote of the National and International Unions affiliated with the Federation. The vote shall be submitted immediately after the adjournment of this Convention, and all returns shall be sent in within six months after issuing the call. The vote to be counted upon the basis of the number of delegates each organization is entitled to in the convention of this Federation.

If a majority vote of the members of the affiliated societies shall be in the affirmative the Executive Council shall at once levy a per capita tax of two cents on each member in good standing of affiliated national and international unions. The amount received by such call shall be held strictly as an Assistance Fund, to be disbursed by vote of the Executive Council upon an appeal for aid, approved by it, from an affiliated national or international trade union. Should necessity exist, in the judgment of the Executive Council, for further assistance of the affiliated national or international trade union calling for aid, it may levy a weekly assessment of two cents per capita for a period not exceeding five continuous weeks.

Executive officers of affiliated organizations shall be rigidly enjoined to acquaint the membership of their respective societies with the conditions contained in this proposition in order that a full and fair expression of opinion may be obtained.

Should two or more organizations be equally entitled to assistance, in the judgment of the Council, the assistance fund shall be divided pro rata.

Failure to comply with the provisions of this compact shall be esteemed sufficient reason for the suspension of any affiliated organization.

AN OFFICIAL JOURNAL.

6. We recommend that a weekly paper be issued as the official journal of the Federation, and that a special committee of five be appointed to report to this Convention, ways and means for the issuance of such a journal.

ENCOURAGEMENT OF TRADES UNIONS.

7. The committee denies to express its hearty approval of the suggestions of the President that all assistance possible be given to the weak and struggling unions of the country, and also as to the establishment of benefit features as bulwarks of defence in times of adversity.

AID TO ORGANIZE THE COAL MINERS.

8. We recommend that the organizers of the Federation and affiliated bodies give especially all aid possible to the miners in their efforts to perfect their trade organization, as we believe that in no other industry is the protection of the shield of trade unionism more needed.

WOMEN'S AND CHILDREN'S LABOR.

9. We deplore the fact that the capitalistic system bears most heavily upon the weak, and that consequently women and children are its greatest sufferers from the greed and avarice of employers. We therefore approve the suggestion of President Gompers relative to the organization of women workers, and we urge that the Executive Council be instructed to have presented to Congress a constitutional amendment prohibiting in all states of the Union the employment of children under fourteen years of age in workshops, mines, and factories.

PER CAPITA TAX.

10. Voted, To refer the question of per capita to the Committee on Constitution.

DELEGATE TO EUROPE.

11. We approve the President's suggestion that it is inexpedient to send a delegate to the International Labor Congresses to be held in Europe the coming year, but we are in favor of extending the cordial sympathy of this Federation to all legitimate efforts of the wage-workers of other lands to secure industrial emancipation.

INDUSTRIAL DIVISIONS.

12. Vote, To refer the question of industrial divisions to the Committee on Organization.

(Signed.)

Respectfully submitted,
WM. J. DILLON,
W. H. KLIVER,
ALEX. JOHNSON,
HENRY EMRICH,
FRANK K. FOSTER.

On motion it was decided to receive the report and take it up *seriatim* for consideration.

Recommendation, No. 2, in regard to the Eight Hour Workday was referred to the special committee of seven already appointed to consider that subject.

Recommendation, No. 3, in reference to reports of affiliated bodies, was adopted.

Recommendation, No. 4, against the importation of foreign and alien labor, under contract, was also adopted.

Recommendation, No. 5, in regard to a General Strike Assessment, provoked a very animated and lengthy debate full of instructive interest. Amendments to the report of the committee were then offered by delegates Lake, Perry, Ives, and Kirchner, whereupon it was decided to refer the whole question of strike assessments and all amendments back to the committee with instructions to prepare a new article embodying the suggestions of the Convention.

Recommendation No. 6, in reference to an official journal, produced considerable discussion, and finally it was resolved to defer action until the Committee on Finance reported.

Recommendation No. 7, to encourage struggling unions, was adopted.

Recommendation No. 8, in regard to furthering the organization of the Coal Miners, was amended so to provide that when the coal

miners' organizations desire organizers the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., when practicable, shall send out such organizers at expense of the A. F. of L. The amendment was adopted.

Recommendation No. 9, as to children's and women's work led to a long debate as to the powers of the National Government to enact a general law to cover the subject. Finally, as a matter of agitation, and to arouse public sentiment on the question the recommendation was adopted.

Recommendation No. 10, in the matter of capita tax, was referred to the Committee on Constitution.

Recommendation No. 11, not to send a delegate to the International Labor Congress, in Paris, was adopted.

Recommendation No. 12, on the provisions for Industrial Divisions or Branches in the A. F. of L. was referred to Committee on Constitution.

The report of the Committee on President's Report, as amended, was then adopted as a whole.

Delegate Weihe was then called to the Chair.

Various resolutions were next submitted and referred to appropriate committees.

The report of Secretary P. J. McGuire was read:

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY.

Philadelphia, Pa., Dec. 8, 1888.

To the Delegates of the Third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, at St. Louis, Mo.:

Comrades: By the terms of the Constitution of the A. F. of L. it becomes one of my official duties to present to your body an annual report. In doing so, I will be brief, inasmuch as the report of President Gompers amply covers all subjects of general and detailed interest and fully meets my approbation, and the report of Treasurer Edmonston deals with the financial affairs. My official duties being neither administrative nor financial, have been purely advisory and require no extended report.

On the adjournment of the Baltimore Convention I hastened the preparation and printing of the proceedings, and when completed, copies of the same were promptly distributed by President Gompers among the organizations affiliated. For quite a while afterwards numerous letters came to me inquiring for information as to the workings of the Federation. These I either personally answered or referred to President Gompers for his action. In this and in other ways connected with my position I have answered over one hundred letters the past year. This work and all other labors connected with the position, have been to me purely a labor of love without desire of reward, or hope of any gratuity, save the satisfaction of having done my duty to the cause in which we are all engaged.

From my acquaintance with the work of the President of this body, I am satisfied this Convention should make financial provision for ample office facilities and sufficient clerical force in the office of President to dispatch the rapidly growing business of the Federation.

It is also of the utmost importance that some financial arrangements should be made to place at least six competent lecturers in the field this coming Spring for a month or two, and longer if possible, in advocacy of the principles of the American Federation of Labor, and to promote the work of the Trade Unions.

Negotiations should be entered into by the forthcoming Executive Council, under authority of this Convention, to give every aid in our power to the formation of a Grand Federation of the Railroad Employees of this whole country, and to range them in line with their sister trade organizations under the banner of the American Federations of Labor.

In the labors of this Convention let us hope that we will avoid all centralization of power, and hold this organizations strictly to the well-defined lines already so well known and so successfully maintained by the American Federation of Labor.

(Signed.)

P. J. MCGUIRE, Secretary.

The report was then referred to the Committee on Secretary's Report.

On motion, it was resolved that the case of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and

Joiners be made the special order for the following (Thursday) morning.

Adjourned at 5:25 P. M. to meet at 9 A. M., December 13, 1888.

Adjourned.

THIRD DAY—Morning Session.

Central Turner Hall,

St. Louis, Mo., Dec. 13, 1888.

The third day's session of the American Federation of Labor opened at 9 A. M., sharp. President Gompers in the Chair; P. J. McGuire at the Secretary's desk.

Absentees at roll call: Holland, Applehagen, Forsberg, and Reinhardt.

Minutes of afternoon session of previous day read and approved.

Communication from International Progressive Tailors' Union read and referred to Committee on Labels and Boycotts.

Communication from the "Societe Professionnelle des Ouvriers Mecaniciens," of Paris, France, expressing fraternal greeting, read and ordered filed; the incoming President is instructed to reciprocate the fraternal feelings manifested.

Resolutions were presented from the delegates of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, setting forth their instructions as delegates in favor of a general and concerted movement for Eight Hours not later than June 1, 1890. Referred to Special Committee on Eight Hours.

EXCLUSION OF THE AMALGAMATED CARPENTERS.

The special order on the question of granting a certificate of affiliation to the Amalgamated Carpenters was then taken up.

On motion, all correspondence on the subject was read. The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America objected to granting a certificate of affiliation to the Amalgamated Carpenters on the ground that to do so would sanction a dual organization with divided authority in trade affairs.

On motion of the delegates from the United Brotherhood of Carpenters the privileges of the floor were granted to Mr. Thomas Shaw, of the Amalgamated Carpenters, during the discussion on the admission of the Amalgamated Carpenters.

Moved that the objections of United Brotherhood against granting the certificate of affiliation be sustained. Remarks were made

by Mr. Shaw in favor of granting the certificate, and by Messrs. Fildew, Blackmore, Shields, Ives, Haller, Evans, Nutt, Goldwater, and others, against granting such certificate.

After a lengthy discussion the following resolution was adopted:

WHEREAS: It has been proved to a demonstration that it is detrimental to the interests of labor to have any more than one organization in any trade, be it

RESOLVED, That the objection raised by the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners against the admission of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters be sustained.

It was then decided, that in the spirit of the above resolution and for the reasons above set forth, the Executive Council is instructed to not grant a certificate of affiliation to the Amalgamated Carpenters.

Resolutions on various subjects were then introduced and referred to appropriate committees.

The privileges of the floor by unanimous vote were granted to Mr. M. D. Shaw, manager of the *New Order*, a weekly labor paper printed in St. Louis. Mr. Shaw announced that said paper would publish an extended report of the proceedings, which order was received favorably.

Committee on balance of President's Report desired further time, and reported progress on matters referred to them.

Committee on Secretary's Report was as follows:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON SECRETARY'S REPORT.

St. Louis, Mo., December 12, 1888.

To the Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

1. Your Committee on Report of the Secretary recommend that the Convention extend a vote of thanks to our worthy Secretary for the faithful and zealous manner in which he has performed the duties of his office.

2. The committee report favorably on the recommendation to make arrangements for ample office facilities, and refer the same to the Committee on Constitution.

3. The committee favor the recommendation to send a proper number of lecturers out into the field this coming Spring for a month or

two, or more, if necessary, but refer the subject to the Committee on Constitution.

4. The committee are of the opinion with the Secretary, that negotiations should be entered into by the forthcoming Executive Council under authority of this Convention, to give every aid in our power to the formation of a grand Federation of Railroad employees of the whole country, and so range them in line with their sister trades organizations, under the united banner of the American Federation of Labor.

5. The committee favor that part of the report wherein it states that in the labors of this Convention, let us avoid all centralization of power, and confine our movements strictly to the well defined lines already so well-known, and so successfully maintained by the American Federation of Labor.

CHARLES F. TAYLOR,
JOHN W. LAVINE,
ROBERT J. BOWER,
ROBERT L. VOLZ,
JAMES J. CAIN.

(Signed.) Committee.

Resolved to accept the report of the committee, and act on the same *seriatim*. Mr. Robert Y. Ogg was called to the chair.

Recommendation of vote of thanks to the Secretary, referred to Committee on Resolutions.

THIRD DAY—Afternoon Session.

The Convention met at 2 P. M., all the officers at their posts.

Absentees: Taylor and La Vine.

Minutes of morning session read and approved.

It was resolved all delegates absent at roll call in consequence of attending to committee duty be marked present.

Moved that delegate Holland, owing to sickness in family, be excused from roll call at morning sessions. Lost.

Telegram of greeting from R. H. Cowdrey, Cincinnati, O., received, and ordered to be acknowledged.

First Vice-President McLaughlin in the Chair.

The Committee on Organization then reported, as follows:

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION.

St. Louis, Mo., December 13, 1888.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Convention:

Your Committee on Organization beg leave to report favorably on the following propositions:

1. That the request from the Bakers' National Union, that this Federation instruct all

On matter of increased office facilities, it was amended to authorize the incoming Executive Council to provide for the same and to make suitable appropriations for the President's office.

Moved that the third recommendation of the committee, in regard to organizers, to refer the same to the Committee on Constitution be stricken out and the report of committee be otherwise concurred in. Carried. Consequently the matter of lecturers was referred favorably to the incoming Executive Council.

On the fourth recommendation in the matter of the Federation of Railroad Employees, it was resolved that the newly elected President visit all forthcoming conventions of unions of railroad men and urge the subject of federation. The report was amended accordingly.

The report of the Committee on Secretary's Report was thereupon adopted as amended.

The Convention then adjourned at 12 M. to meet again at 2 P. M.

Adjourned.

affiliated organizations to do all in their power to aid in thoroughly organizing the Journeymen Bakers, be complied with, and such help as asked for in the request be granted.

2. That the request to appoint one Organizer for each city under the jurisdiction of this Federation having a population of 150,000 inhabitants or more, whose duty shall be to effect a thorough organization of the laboring class, be adopted by the Convention. But that part relating to the salary of the Organizers to be fixed at \$100 each annually, be referred back to the Convention.

3. That the request of the Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators of America to uphold Union No. 1 of Baltimore, Md., against the organization of painters, known as Hope Assembly No. 1466, K. of L., of Baltimore, which antagonizes Union No. 1 and refuses to work in harmony with them, be endorsed by the Convention.

4. In the matter of the Denver Trades Assembly, pertaining to the resolution for the appointment of a Government Printer, the matter has been referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

5. That part of the communication of the Denver Trades Assembly pertaining to the organization of the Coal Miners of Colorado has already been acted upon by the Convention.

6. The communication of the Tin, Sheet Iron, and Cornice Workers' International Union, the Committee refers back favorably to the Convention.

7. The request of the United Brewery Work-

men, the Committee desires referred to the incoming Executive Board.

Respectfully submitted,
W. I. SHIELDS,
GEORGE W. APPEL,
A. W. ANDERSON,
H. FORSBERG,
JOHN McIVER,

(Signed.) Committee.

On motion, the report of the Committee was received, and it was ordered that it be considered section by section.

Delegate Weaver then took the Chair.

The consideration of the report of the Committee or Organization was resumed.

Recommendations Nos. 1, 3, 4, and 5 were adopted.

Recommendation No. 2 was referred to the incoming Executive Council.

Recommendation No. 6 was referred to the incoming President.

FINANCIAL AID FOR THE BREWERS.

Recommendation No. 7, in regard to financial aid for the Journeymen Brewers, occasioned a lively debate on the advisability of ordering an assessment on the affiliated bodies, or depending on a call for voluntary financial aid in support of the Brewers. After various amendments, the following resolutions prevailed:

RESOLVED, That as the exigencies of the Brewers' strike are such as demand immediate measures and aid in support of the movement, we take special cognizance of the situation, and as representatives to this Federation, we pledge ourselves to untiring efforts in procuring funds from our several organizations in support of the Brewers' strike.

RESOLVED, That an appeal in the interest of the Journeymen Brewers' Union be sent out forthwith by the President of the A. F. of L. to all the several National and International Unions, Central Labor Unions and other bodies herein affiliated, with an urgent request to bring the same before their local bodies, to donate liberally and immediately in aid of the Brewers.

Adopted.

The Report of the Committee on Organization was then adopted as above amended.

ADDITIONAL REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON PRESIDENT'S REPORT.

Voted to refer the subject of the presentation of the plates of the pamphlet on "Trades Unions and Their History," by Secretary McGuire to the Federation, to the Committee on Resolutions for an appropriate expression of thanks to that gentleman for the favor.

Adopted.

Voted to refer to the Committee on Organization the application for a certificate of affiliation of a musical union of Baltimore, Md.

Adopted.

We recommend that the action of the President and Council in having printed a manual,

working, traveling and membership cards be approved.

Adopted.

The above report was then adopted as a whole.

The question of strike assessments as referred to the Committee on President's Report was then taken up on report of the Committee. Amendments were offered to include Federal Labor Unions and Local Trade Unions as subject to such general assessments. These amendments were lost by a vote of 33 to 7.

A substitute was then offered to provide that all such assessments be held in reserve in the treasuries of the National and International Unions until called for by the officers of the A. F. of L.

Substitute lost.

On motion the report of the Committee as originally presented was adopted. (See page 17.) The question of strike assessments is to be referred to the affiliated bodies for a general vote.

The Committee on Labels and Boycotts presented its report, as here appended:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LABELS AND BOYCOTTS.

St. Louis, Mo., December 13, 1888.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Convention:

Your Committee, to whom was referred the resolutions on Labels and Boycotts, beg leave to present the following report:

Having duly examined the matter referred to our committee, and having numbered the resolutions No. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6, respectively, do unhesitatingly recommend their adoption.

Your Committee have also examined a resolution from the Tailors' Progressive Union and recommend that it be referred by the incoming Executive Council to a joint committee of the Journeymen Tailors' National Union, and the Tailors' Progressive Union.

Your Committee, however, would consider its work incomplete if it did not accompany its recommendations by a few words upon the unfortunate social conditions making the use and rigid enforcement of the proposed methods an act of sheer necessity on the part of the long-abused and oppressed toilers of this and other lands.

The earnest, honest attempt of the toiling masses to improve their condition by the legitimate and peaceful means inherent in the nature of the trade union form of organization has too often met with the most determined, unscrupulous and violent opposition from those who owe their power and their existence to the laborers whom they so heartlessly oppress.

That this persecution may be resisted, and that the obstacles to the free development of the working class may be overcome by the concerted and combined effort of the workers themselves cannot be doubted by any intelligent mind. But the effort requisite to accomplish this much-to-be-desired end is no ordinary one, and can only be successful by the

habitual cultivation of the highest qualities of our nature.

To feel and know that a wanton injury inflicted upon the humblest toiler is an injury inflicted upon all is the first step in the progress we so ardently desire. To refuse to consume, buy or handle any article produced under slave-like conditions is then the manifest duty of every well wisher of the human race; and we therefore recommend that this Convention stamp with its disapproval the products of the unfair employers mentioned in the resolutions submitted to us and that each delegate to this Convention use his utmost influence to make the facts known to every worker in the land.

Furthermore, your Committee recommends that every member of the American Federation of Labor be urged in the strongest manner to purchase none but Union made goods, and demand Union Label goods upon all occasions.

DAN'L McLAUGHLIN, Chairman.

C. F. BECHTOLD.

F. ACKERMAN.

E. APPLEHAGAN.

HUGH MCGREGOR, Secretary.

THE BOYCOTT ON THE DOUGLASS SHOE LIFTED.

Delegate Daley in behalf of the Shoe Lasters' Protective Union of New England rose to a question of privilege which was unanimously granted. Delegate Daley then reported the fact that he had just received a telegram that the W. L. Douglass Shoe Co., which was under boycott for over a year, for not complying with union rules, had just agreed upon terms with the Shoe Lasters' Protective Union, and that hereafter the Douglass Shoe should be considered as made in a union factory. Upon motion duly made the boycott on the Douglass Shoe was unanimously lifted. President Gompers then declared that the boycott on the Douglass Shoe, as ordered by the A. F. of L., was from this date removed.

The consideration of the report of the Committee on Labels and Boycotts was then resumed and taken up *seriatim*.

The following resolutions reported favorably by the above committee were then read and adopted:

BOYCOTT THE NEW YORK TRIBUNE.

WHEREAS, The avowed enemy of organized labor, the *New York Tribune*, still persists in employing non-union printers; therefore

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor sympathizes with Typographical Unions, No. 6, of New York City, in their fight for justice and right, and declare said *New York Tribune* unworthy of the support of the friends of organized labor.

Adopted.

BOYCOTT MILWAUKEE AND NEW YORK POOL BEER.

WHEREAS, The "American Federation of Labor" resolved in the Convention held in Baltimore, 1887, to give its full support to the National Union of the United Brewery Workmen of the United States, and

WHEREAS, The Boss Brewers' Association of the United States resolved to use all efforts to crush their workmen's organization, and considering the fact up to date, the working people of the country have failed to give the Brewers the necessary moral support, and as the Bosses succeeded at several places in hurting the Brewers' Union.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled, ask all its members and all organized workmen to support the National Union of the United Brewery Workmen of the United States in its long and hard struggle, and to show up their full solidarity due to the brewers, that is "To support their local boycotts, and especially the Boycott of Milwaukee and New York Pool Beer," until the bosses have recognized the organization of their employees.

Adopted.

BOYCOTT S. F. HESS CO.'S CIGARS.

We, the Cigar-makers of Rochester, N. Y., known as Cigar-makers' Union No. 5, do hereby ask your honorable body to endorse our action and declare the factory of S. F. Hess Co. a scab shop, and place a boycott on all his good as an unfair, non-union product.

Adopted.

BOYCOTT DILWORTH BRO.'S COFFEE.

WHEREAS, The Iron firm of Dilworth, Porter & Co., of Pittsburg, Pa., manufacturers of railroad and boat spikes, is the only company in the Iron Manufacturers' Association that has not signed the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers scale of wages, and,

WHEREAS, On the first day of July last, said firm, in consequence of the refusal of their employees, members of said trade union, to accept a ten per cent. reduction in wages, locked the latter out, and are now running their rolling mill and spike factory non-union, and,

WHEREAS, Joseph R. and Charles R. Dilworth, of the said iron firm of Dilworth, Porter & Co., are largely interested in the roasting and sale of coffee in Pittsburg, under the firm name of "Dilworth Brothers," the proceeds from which undoubtedly aid in the furtherance of the non-union movement in the iron mill herein named, therefore,

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor extends and hereby pledges its moral support to men locked out by the firm of Dilworth, Porter & Co.

RESOLVED, That we heartily recommend the disuse of Dilworth Brothers' Coffee, of Pittsburg, with a view to effectually aiding the iron firm of Dilworth, Porter & Co., and we call upon the members of all organizations affiliated with this Federation to refuse to buy, handle, or in any way encourage the sale of said coffee.

Adopted.

The further consideration of the report was laid over until the following morning. The convention thereupon adjourned at 6:08 P. M. to meet at 9 A. M., December 14, 1888.

FOURTH DAY—Morning Session.

Central Turner Hall,

St. Louis, Mo., Dec. 14, 1888.

Sharply at 9 A. M. the Convention was called to order by President Gompers, Secretary McGuire at his desk.

Absentees: Holland, Taylor, Miller, Werdes, and Reinhardt.

Minutes of afternoon session of previous day were read and adopted.

Communication was then read from A. Steuber, Greenville, Tex., and a telegram from Cigarmakers' Union No. 180, Danbury, Conn., also an invitation from Famous Shoe and Clothing Co., St. Louis, a strictly union house, to visit their place of business. First two communications were referred to appropriate committees, and the invitation to visit the Famous was accepted.

The further consideration of the report of the Committee on Labels and Boycotts was resumed, and was disposed of as follows:

BOYCOTT ROIGG & LANSFORD'S CIGARS.

WHEREAS, The Cigar Manufacturers, Riog & Lansford, of Philadelphia, have locked out their citizen employees, and at greatly reduced wages have taken into their employ aliens imported from abroad, and

WHEREAS, The futile efforts of the President and Secretary of the American Federation of Labor have demonstrated that the said firm is determined to continue their hostility to our working people, be it

RESOLVED, That the attention of all workmen be called to the cigar made by Roig & Lansford and that they be requested to avoid said product until the firm named has agreed with the Cigarmakers' Union to pay living wages and give evidence of such agreement, by affixing to the boxes containing their cigars, the blue label of the Cigarmakers' International Union.

Adopted.

UNION LABELS.

WHEREAS, The Iron Molders, Cigarmakers, Bakers, Hatters, German Typographers, and several other unions affiliated with this Federation of Labor have what is known as union labels to be placed upon articles manufactured by union labor. Therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Federation endorse all labels of unions affiliated with this Federation, and recommend that all unions be requested to purchase goods with union labels in preference to any other.

Adopted.

A communication of the Tailors' Progressive Union of America, detailed the evils affecting the workers in the clothing trade, and the necessity for a more thorough union

of all tailors, to reduce the hours of labor and maintain decent wages. For that purpose they desire the adoption of the union label of the Progressive Tailors. This matter was referred to the incoming Executive Council, to have a joint conference of the Journeymen Tailors' National Union and the Progressive Tailors' Union on the contents of the above communication.

The latter part of the report of the Committee on Labels and Boycotts, giving expression as to the reasons and necessity for union labels and boycotts, was adopted.

The report of the committee was then adopted as a whole.

Resolutions were then presented by various delegates, and referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CONSTITUTION.

The Committee on Constitution then presented its report.

Article III, Sec. 1, was amended so to provide that the Convention shall hereafter open at 10 A. M., instead of noon on the first or opening day.

Article IV., Sec. 2, was amended so to provide a call of the roll can be demanded by one-fifth of the delegates present.

Article IV., Sec. 5, was amended so to prevent the admission to the A. F. of L., of any organization which owes its allegiance to any other body outside of the A. F. of L., or which is hostile to any of the affiliated organizations.

Delegate Lake was called to the chair.

An Amendment to Sec. 6, Article IV., to prevent official trade journals from meddling with the internal affairs or controversies of other trades, aroused quite a debate, and it was finally referred back to the Committee on Constitution.

Article V., Sec. 4, a new section was added so to provide that elective officers of the A. F. of L. must be members of some local organization affiliated with the A. F. of L.

The proposition to amend Article VI., Sec. 1, so to advance the salary of the President from \$1,200 to \$1,500, aroused considerable opposition, was defeated by an aye and nay vote of 20 ayes to 25 nays. The vote is as follows:

Ayes—Anderson, Blackmore, Cain, Dillon, Donnelly, Erbleiding, Evans, Fildew, Foster,

Goldwater, Ives, Johnson, Kirchner, La Vine, McIver, Martin, Nutt, Penna, Weihe, and Werdes. Total 20 ayes.

Nays—Ackerman Appel, Applehagen, Archie, Bechtold, Bower, Daley, Delabar, Emrich, Fitzpatrick, Forsberg, Haller, Hasson, Holland, Kilver, Lake, McLaughlin, Mahoney,

Miller, Ogg, Perry, Reinhardt, Shields, Volz and Weaver. Total 25 nays.

The Convention then adjourned at noon to reconvene at 2 P. M.

Adjourned.

FOURTH DAY—Afternoon Session.

Convention reassembled at 2 P. M. All officers at their posts.

Absentees at roll call: Delabar, Donnelly, Kliver, Taylor and Werdes.

Minutes of morning session read and approved.

The consideration of the report of the Committee on Constitution was resumed.

Article VI., Section 2, was amended to provide for suitable clerical help.

Article VIII., Section 1, was amended to read as follows:

The revenue of the Federation shall be divided as follows:

From international and national trade unions one-fourth of one cent per member per month; from local trades unions and federal unions one cent per member per month; and from central labor unions \$25 per year.

On the above proposition, the delegates of the International Typographical Union offered an amendment to reduce the tax to one-eighth of one per cent., but the same was defeated.

Article VIII., Section 6, was amended so to place the President and Treasurer each under \$2,000 bonds.

The balance of the report of the Committee was taken up *seriatim* and it reads as follows:

In reference to the communication from Mass. Branch, American Federation of Labor, pertaining to double and triple tax, your Committee have covered the ground in their change Article 8, Section 1, under sub-head of "Revenue."

In reference to that portion of the President's Report referred to this Committee, relating to "Industrial Divisions," your Committee are of the opinion, while looking with favor upon the proposed scheme of the President, recommend that the American Federation of Labor, at its present session, deems it advisable to lay the matter over for future legislation.

The Committee recommend that the Federation resolve itself into Executive Session, at some convenient hour, for the consideration of matters pertaining to per capita tax, as presented; or will be presented by the delegates from the International Typographical Union.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

WM. WEIHE,
ROBERT C. OGG,
SAM. GOLDWATER,
FRANCIS FILDREW,
J. S. KIRCHNER,

Committee.

(Signed.)

In the matter presented by the Massachusetts State Branch, the report of the Committee was concurred in.

The recommendation of the Committee on the formation of Industrial Divisions was not concurred in, and upon a full explanation of its significance the following resolution was thereupon adopted:

INDUSTRIAL DIVISIONS.

RESOLVED, That so much of the report of the Committee on Constitution as refer to Industrial Divisions be referred to the incoming Executive Council, to devise a plan for the establishment of Industrial Divisions or Trade Sections and submit the same to the National or International bodies for dissemination among the Local Unions.

The recommendation to go into Executive Session was concurred in and it was agreed to do so towards the close of the day's session.

The report of the Committee on Constitution as amended, was then adopted as a whole. (See pages 3, 4, and 5.)

Delegate Shields was called to the Chair.

The following resolution was then reported favorably by the Committee on Constitution, and was adopted:

No affiliated union of this Federation shall, under pain of suspension, publish in its official journal, any matter appertaining to the internal controversies of any other affiliated union without first having consulted the Chief Executive Officer of the union concerned.

Communications were then read and referred from Mr. Henry Dorn, State Factory Inspector of Ohio, and from the Central Labor Union of New York, expressing sympathy and support with the work of the Federation.

The report of the Special Committee on Eight Hours was presented in the appended form:

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE EIGHT HOUR WORK-DAY.

St. Louis, Mo., Dec. 14, 1888.

To the President and Representatives of the American Federation of Labor:

We, your Committee appointed to draft a plan for the accomplishment of the Eight Hour law, very respectfully state that we have very carefully considered the question, and will say that we heartily endorse the sentiment

expressed and recognize the great necessity of securing a reduction in the hours of labor, and believe it within the possibilities of accomplishment.

WHEREAS, The advancement of science, the development of machinery, and the ever increasing sway of man over the forces of nature have enormously increased the productive capacity of society and made it possible to supply all material wants with a greatly decreased expenditure of the labor forces; and,

WHEREAS, The length of the working day of the toiler has not been decreased in a just proportion to the productiveness of labor.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled, does hereby assert the right of the wage-workers of America to a larger control of their time and greater leisure for the enjoyment of the benefits of this nineteenth century of civilization.

RESOLVED, That we call on organized labor throughout the country to exert their every effort for the accomplishment of a reduction in the number of hours for the laboring class. Hence your Committee most respectfully make the following recommendation:

That the incoming Executive Council shall arrange upon Washington's Birthday, 1889, simultaneous mass meetings in all cities of the country, such meetings to be addressed by speakers appointed by authority of the Executive Council, and that on Independence Day, July 4th, the same action under the control of the Executive Council shall be pursued, and that on Labor Day, 1889, a like action be again taken, to be followed upon the succeeding Washington's Birthday, 1890, by another series of grand simultaneous mass meetings. Upon that question this is to conclude the period of agitation.

The Executive Council shall also gather statistics from all the organizations in order to ascertain what hours prevail among such organizations, and how many members will be affected, the condition of their finances, and approximately what financial support would be required.

The Executive Council shall also prepare printed circulars which are to be issued to all manufacturing firms in the country, requesting them to meet representatives of this organization in conference, so that a friendly arrangement of a reduction in the working hours may, if possible, be effected.

In addition to the agitation afforded by means of the mass meetings above suggested, we also enjoin upon the Executive Council the propriety of issuing a pamphlet giving a thorough exposition of the question of reducing the hours of labor.

Your Committee was unable to agree upon selecting a fixed date for the practical enforcement of a general demand for Eight Hours, thinking that the setting of a certain date for such an extraordinary effort for a practical demand can be best agreed upon by the Convention, rather than by this Committee.

Respectfully submitted.

(Signed.)

J. S. KIRCHNER, Chairman.
F. K. FOSTER.

WM. H. KLIVER,
WILLIAM MARTIN,

ALEX. JOHNSON,
HENRY EMRICH,

WM. J. DILLON, Secretary.

It was ordered that the report be acted on section by section.

All the sections were unanimously adopted as reported by the Committee, excepting the

last clause, fixing the date for inaugurating the Eight-hours System.

Delegate Blackmore moved the date be fixed at June 1, 1890.

Delegate Perry offered to amend as follows:

That the matter of fixing the date be referred to the incoming Executive Council, with the following instructions:

The question be referred to affiliated unions for a vote, and returns be submitted not later than six months, and the effort be confined to a union of those industries whose interests and method of work are similar, which shall cast the largest percentage of majorities on their membership in favor of an eight-hour work day; and the unions, or associated interests so designated, shall receive the support of all unions in affiliation with the American Federation of Labor, and the same rule to apply to the next in majority of votes cast when the first union, or associated interests, shall have met the issue and established the eight-hour work day.

Delegate LaVine offered an amendment to the amendment, that the eight-hour movement be confined to the building trades, exclusively.

Delegate Applehagen offered a substitute to fix the date May 1, 1890.

After an exhaustive and well-tempered discussion, participated in by the bulk of the delegates, as to the ways and means to carry on the movement, the previous question was ordered.

Credentials were received from F. A. Hill, alternate for David Erbleling, excused on account of illness. Credentials accepted and delegate admitted.

The vote was first taken on the proposition to fix the date at June 1, 1890, which was lost.

The amendment offered by Delegate Perry, was next voted on, and was defeated.

Amendment offered by Delegate LaVine, to confine the movement to the building trades was next in order, and was not sustained.

The substitute offered by Delegate Applehagen, to fix the date at May 1, 1890, prevailed by a large majority.

The question occurred on the report of the Committee as amended, and on this the ayes and nays were ordered.

Ayes—Ackerman, Apple, Applehagen, Anderson, Bechtold, Blackmore, Cain, Daley, Dillon, Donnelly, Delabar, Evans, Fildew, Fitzpatrick, Foster, Forsberg, Goldwater, Gompers, Haller, Hasson, Hill, Holland, Johnson, Kliver, Kirchner, LaVine, Martin, Shields, McGregor, McLaughlin, Mahoney, Ogg, Nutt, Penna, Volz, Weihe, Werdes, and Weaver. Total, 38 ayes.

Nays—Archie, Bower, Emrich, Ives, Lake, Perry, Taylor, Reinhardt. Total, 8 nays.

Excused—Miller.

Amid tumultuous cheers and enthusiastic applause, the motion to adopt the Committee's report and fix the date for the inauguration of the Eight Hour work-day at May 1, 1890, was

declared adopted by a vote of 38 ayes to 8 nays.

On motion, rules suspended to extend time of adjournment of this session to 7 P. M. So ordered.

The Committee on Finance then reported as follows:

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON FINANCE

St. Louis, Mo., December 14, 1888.

To the Representatives of the American Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled:

Your Committee on Finance, appointed to audit the books and other accounts of the President and Treasurer, beg leave to report that we have made a thorough and very satisfactory examination of the finances connected with their work during the past year, ending November 30, 1888. After a careful consideration of all the details connected with the organization, we have no hesitancy in saying that the President and Treasurer have discharged their duties in such a manner as leaves no doubt in the minds of your Committee as to the correctness of this important feature of the organization we represent.

In our examination of the books, we find receipts and expenditures as follows:

Balance in Treasury at the
last annual audit..... \$ 25 95
Receipts during the year.....4,511 55

Total receipts \$4,537 50
Expenses during the year 3,933 67

Balance in Treasury Nov. 30, 1888....\$604 83
(Signed.)

CHRISTOPHER EVANS,
JAS. H. NUTT,
E. REINHARDT,
HENRY WERDES,
D. ARCHIE,

Committee.

Report of the Committee adopted.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

The Committee on Resolutions then reported as follows: Said report was received and acted on section by section, with the result as noted:

St. Louis, Mo., December 14, 1888.

To the Officers and delegates of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in their third annual session:

Gentlemen:—Your Committee on Resolutions would report that after having organized, it considered, carefully, the various resolutions referred to them.

The Committee deem it unnecessary to report upon the resolution offered by the delegate of the Furniture Workers' National Union, and the resolution offered by the Denver Trades Assembly, the subject matter of former having been covered by the Committee on Officers' Report. That of the latter by another resolution in regard to organizing the coal miners.

Adopted.

The Committee would report adversely the resolution of the delegate of the Cleveland

Central Labor Union, proposing to restrict emigration by a per capita tax on emigrants.

Adopted.

It is recommended that the resolution of Mr. Johnson, concerning the method of memorializing legislators on female and child labor be referred to the incoming Executive Council.

Adopted.

The Committee would report favorably the following resolutions:

BALLOT REFORM.

WHEREAS, The purity of the ballot is the safety of the nation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor endorses the system of voting known as the Australian system.

Adopted.

APPOINTMENT OF A PUBLIC PRINTER.

WHEREAS, It is highly essential to the welfare of the Union Printers of America that a union man be chosen for the high and exalted position of Public Printer of the United States; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, do hereby request the President-elect, in choosing a manager of the Public Printing Office at Washington, to recognize organized labor, and select for Public Printer a member of the International Typographical Union; and

RESOLVED, Further, that a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to the President-elect of the United States.

Adopted.

CONSPIRACY LAWS.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor do everything in its power to bring about the repeal of all conspiracy laws, whether state or national, whose object is to deny to working people the free exercise of their rights to organize and be represented by committees, or agents of their own selection, in dealing with employers of labor in relation to matters of wages or other conditions under which labor shall be performed.

Adopted.

PRISON LABOR PRODUCTS.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in annual convention assembled records itself in favor of the bill now before Congress to confine the sale of prison-made goods of whatever kind to the State in which such goods are made; also the bill to prohibit the importation of all foreign prison labor products.

Adopted.

ABOLISH THE CONTRACT SYSTEM ON PUBLIC WORK

WHEREAS, The contract labor system as now in vogue in governmental work results in the awarding of contracts to employers who discriminate against organized labor by employing mainly inferior workmen at reduced wages and ignoring the national eight-hour law; be it

RESOLVED, That we request of Congress the abolition of the contract system of performing public work.

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council is hereby authorized to prepare a bill to be presented to Congress, and they use every effort to have the same become a law.

Adopted.

ARMED HIRELINGS AND POLICE INTERFERENCE IN STRIKES.

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council give all possible assistance to affiliated State Federations and Central Labor Unions in their endeavors to secure legislation preventing unfair employers from hiring irresponsible persons armed for the purpose of overdriving workmen on strike; also for the purpose of preventing undue police interference with workmen engaged in labor disputes.

Adopted.

PROTECTION TO THE EMPLOYEES IN THE OYSTER TRADE.

WHEREAS, It has become notorious that captains of the oyster sloops on our coast, and particularly in the Chesapeake Bay, make it a practice to violate the United States statutes protecting American seamen, and subject their employees to many oppressions peculiar to their employment; be it

RESOLVED, That the attention of the Secretary of the Treasury be respectfully called to this condition of affairs, believing that a stricter enforcement of the law, on the part of the subordinate Government officials will result in bringing about the relief that the laboring men referred to, stand so much in need of.

Adopted.

FOREIGN CONTRACT LABOR.

RESOLVED, That we endorse the bill now before Congress, presented by the stone-cutters and masons of New York, regulating foreign contract labor, and introduced in the Senate by the Hon. H. W. Blair, of New Hampshire.

Adopted.

SUNDAY LABOR.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation is in hearty sympathy with any legitimate movement inaugurated by the American Sabbath Union, the object of which is to lighten the burden of those who toil.

Adopted, and President Gompers instructed to telegraph the American Sabbath Union the action of the Convention.

TESTIMONIAL TO J. P. M'DONNELL.

WHEREAS, It comes to our notice that the organized workmen of the State of New Jersey have decided to express in a substantial manner their grateful appreciation of the valuable services rendered the cause of labor everywhere by Mr. J. P. McDonnell, editor of that staunch advocate of trade unionism, and champion of high wages and short hours, the *Paterson Labor Standard*, and

WHEREAS, We, the representatives of the various national and international trade unions of the country in convention assembled recognize in the contemplated testimonial a deserving tribute to a true promoter of those principles which every lover of liberty and justice holds most dear; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor heartily endorses this movement of

the organized workmen of New Jersey to thus appropriately testify their regard for the man whose best efforts have always been applied in their behalf, and that we recognize in Mr. J. P. McDonnell that fearless and manly spirit that characterizes a true advocate of the rights of labor.

Adopted.

COMPULSORY EDUCATION, ETC.

WHEREAS, The greatest barrier to the success of the masses in their struggle for the rights of labor and of man, has been, and is today, a lack of knowledge of the system of government under which they live, and a consequent misunderstanding of the privileges accorded them by the enactment of some laws, and of the evils that sometimes result from the passage of other laws, and

WHEREAS, We recognize that the education of the people is the fundamental principle upon which the success of every proposed plan of social reform depends; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor recommend to the law makers of this country the enactment of compulsory education laws in the different states of the Union whereby parents will be compelled to send their children to school, so as to enable them to acquire an education fitting them to become intelligent and important factors in the regulation of the laws and the system of government under which they live; and, furthermore, that the science of government shall be taught in every public school in the United States.

Adopted.

DUAL ORGANIZATION IN ONE TRADE.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor deems it unwise for two local, national or international organizations of any one trade to exist in the same jurisdiction, and advise the amalgamation of trades in such instances. The Executive Council is instructed to use all means in its power to accomplish this end.

Adopted.

ADVERTISING THE FEDERATION.

WHEREAS, There is apparent necessity for extending the principles and strengthening the numbers of the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, It is necessary that some system should be adopted whereby the strength and name of the organization will be properly recognized; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention recommends to all trades unions connected with the American Federation of Labor the printing of the words, "American Federation of Labor," immediately over the title of their trade union, on all circulars, documents, programmes, etc., so that this organization may be recognized by all trade unions as their chief representative body.

Committee recommends that this matter be left optional with each organization connected with the American Federation of Labor.

Adopted.

RESOLUTION OF THANKS TO MR. P. J. M'GUIRE.

RESOLVED, That the thanks of this convention be tendered to Mr. P. J. McGuire, its Secretary, for the valuable free gift of plates from which were printed the trade union pam-

phlet recently issued by the American Federation of Labor.

Adopted by a rising vote. It was further ordered that the sum of \$100 be appropriated to Mr. P. J. McGuire for moneys expended in work for the Federation. Mr. McGuire strenuously objected to such appropriation and advised that the money be used in printing and disseminating Eight Hour tracts. Mr. McGuire's objections were overruled and the sum of \$100 was appropriated unanimously.

RESOLVED, That this convention tenders its sincere thanks to the daily press for their fair and impartial reports and to the citizens of St. Louis, and particularly to the labor organizations of the city for the numerous courtesies shown to our delegates and for the gen-

crous and hospitable manner in which they have been entertained during their stay.

Adopted by a rising vote.
All of which is respectfully submitted,
(Signed.)

FRED HALLER, Chairman,
P. F. FITZPATRICK,
E. L. DALEY,
D. E. ERBLEDDING,
HENRY BLACKMORE,
Committee.

The Convention then, as previously ordered, went into Executive session to hear the statements of the delegates of the International Typographical Union on the question of the per capita tax and welfare of the A. F. of L.

At 7:10 P. M. the Executive session was raised, and the Convention then adjourned.

FIFTH DAY.—Morning Session.

Central Turner Hall,
St. Louis, Mo., Dec. 15, 1888.

Convention met at 9 A. M., President Gompers in the chair, P. J. McGuire, Secretary.

Absentees: Holland, Ives, Cain, Hill, McIver and Reinhardt.

Minutes of previous afternoon session read and approved.

The Committee on Organization then completed its labors by presenting the following report:

CASE OF THE MUSICAL UNION OF BALTIMORE.

St. Louis, Mo., Dec. 14, 1888.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Convention:

The matter referred to your committee on organization in regards to issuing a charter to the Musical Union of Baltimore (formerly known as Mozart Assembly K. of L.) beg leave to report that we uphold the protest of the local "Federation of Labor of Baltimore," in regard to issuing a charter to said organization for the following reasons:

Said Musical Union, better known as "Mozart Assembly, K. of L.," has at all times opposed Musical Union No. 1, and has only used this method in applying for a charter to the "American Federation of Labor" in order to destroy a recognized trade union connected in the Federation of Labor of Baltimore.

Respectfully submitted,

(Signed.)

W. J. SHIELDS,
GEORGE W. APPEL,
A. W. ANDERSON,
N. FORSBERG,
H. McIVOR,
Committee.

On motion the above report of the committee was concurred in.

The Committee on Labels and Boycotts reported favorably on the following:

BOYCOTT THE CONN. VALLEY CIGAR CO., OF WESTFIELD, MASS.

St. Louis, Mo., Dec. 13, 1888.

WHEREAS, The Conn. Valley Cigar Co., of Westfield, Mass., is a concern whose existence is in every way detrimental to the members of the Cigar Makers' International Union of America; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the various organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor do all in their power to prevent the sale of the cigars manufactured by the Conn. Valley Cigar Co., of Westfield, Mass.

Adopted and report concurred in.

ISSUING AN OFFICIAL JOURNAL.

The special committee on an Official Journal reported in favor of the Convention devising ways and means for the establishment and publication of a weekly official journal. Report received.

After a very animated discussion as to the practical benefit and advisability of such a step the report of the committee was not concurred in. It was then decided to sustain all labor papers friendly to the American Federation of Labor and to urge on all branches of organized labor the importance of supporting the labor press of the country, and increasing the circulation of labor papers.

On motion it was ordered that no further resolutions be entertained after 10:30 A. M., and until that hour all resolutions be acted on by the Convention, without reference to the Committee on Resolutions.

ADDITIONAL RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED.

The following resolutions were then introduced and acted on in their consecutive order and adopted.

LABOR OF CHILDREN IN ORPHAN ASYLUMS.

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. be hereby instructed to immediately take energetic steps to prevent the continuance of the inhuman practice in vogue in some places of taking children from orphan asylums, transferring them to other states and then placing them at work in mines and workshops to the detriment of the moral and physical well-being of the children and the disgrace of our people and laws.

LABOR PAPERS REQUESTED TO ADVOCATE THE EIGHT HOUR MOVEMENT.

RESOLVED, That all papers friendly to the cause of Labor, be requested to advocate the adoption of the eight hour day, which is to go into effect on May 1, 1890, and likewise to advocate all matters of interest to the A. F. of L.

LEGAL PROTECTION OF UNION LABELS.

WHEREAS, The present Federal law gives no absolute protection to Union Labels; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council take measures to have the law so amended as to give the desired protection by Federal law to Union Labels.

CIRCULAR FOR GENERAL VOTE.

RESOLVED, That immediately after the adjournment of this Convention the President shall issue a circular containing the questions that are to be voted upon by the different affiliated organizations and request them to make returns within the prescribed time provided by this Convention.

AFFILIATE WITH LOCAL CENTRAL BODIES.

WHEREAS, There are many national and local organizations affiliated with this American Federation of Labor which are not connected with their local central bodies; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we request all such organizations in the interest of labor legislation to affiliate with such local Central Labor Unions and State Federations.

APPRECIATION OF "THE NEW ORDER."

MOVED, That we express our appreciation of the enterprise shown by the *New Order* of St. Louis and *St. Louis Tageblatt*, in publishing full reports of the proceedings of this Convention.

ENDORSE THE EIGHT-HOUR MOVE OF THE CARPENTERS OF ST. LOUIS.

RESOLVED, We tender our moral support to the Carpenters of St. Louis, in their demand for eight hours as a day's work, and urge all unions to strive and uphold them in their demand.

SUPPORTING THE GERMAN PRINTERS IN UPHOLDING EIGHT HOURS.

RESOLVED, That we tender the moral support of the A. F. of L. to the German-

American Typographia in their struggle to uphold the eight-hour work day.

SUPPORTING BAKERS' UNION NO. 49, OF CHICAGO. RESOLVED, That the Chicago Trades Assembly and all other labor organizations of Chicago, Ill., connected with this Federation be requested by this Convention to give unlimited support to the Bakers' National Union No. 49, of Chicago, in their struggle against an unfair bakers' union, known as Independent Bakers' Union No. 1, of Chicago, Ill.

EIGHT HOURS' PAY ON GOVERNMENT WORK.

WHEREAS, The employees on government work were compelled to work ten hours while there was an eight-hour law in existence; be it RESOLVED, That we endorse the bills now in Congress on the eight-hours per day and the endeavor to secure back pay for those who did work a legal day of eight hours.

FINE FOR WITHDRAWAL.

RESOLVED, That any state, national or other union withdrawing from this organization, and showing hostility to this organization shall not be reinstated unless they pay the sum of one hundred dollars.

LABOR LEGISLATION.

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be, and they are hereby directed to endeavor to secure the passage of the bills in the interest of labor approved by the last Convention of the Federation.

The above resolutions were all unanimously adopted, and the report of the Committee on Resolutions, as amended, was then adopted and the committee discharged.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS.

By unanimous vote it was decided to proceed to the election of officers, and delegates Fitzpatrick and Johnson were appointed tellers, and Delegate Weaver as judge of election.

After due nomination, the following were chosen by acclamation in regular form as the officers of the American Federation of Labor, for the ensuing term of one year, viz:

President—Samuel Gompers (Cigar Maker,) New York, N. Y.

First Vice-President—Daniel McLaughlin (Coal Miner,) Braidwood, Ill.

Second Vice-President—William Martin (Iron and Steel Worker,) Pittsburg, Pa.

Secretary—P. J. McGuire (Carpenter,) Philadelphia, Pa.

Treasurer—Henry Emrich (Furniture Worker,) New York, N. Y.

Messrs. F. K. Foster and Aug. Delabar were nominated for Treasurer, but declined.

On motion, it was resolved to reopen the order of business for amendments to the constitution.

It was moved to amend Art. 8, Sec. 6, line 2, by striking out the words "selected" and "Executive Council," and to insert the words "elected" and "Convention," so to have the

Trustees hereafter elected by the Convention. The amendment was adopted.

The Convention then proceeded to the choice of Trustees, and the following were unanimously elected:

Trustees—Hugo Miller (Compositor,) New York, N. Y.; Aug. Delabar (Baker,) New York, N. Y.; Josiah B. Dyer (Granite Cutter,) New York, N. Y.

PLACE FOR HOLDING NEXT CONVENTION.

On motion, it was agreed to next proceed to the choice of a place for the meeting of the next convention.

Boston, Detroit, Chicago, Milwaukee, Philadelphia and Cincinnati were placed in nomination. The Convention then proceeded to ballot with the following result:

First ballot: Philadelphia, 19; Boston, 10; Detroit, 6; Chicago, 6; Cincinnati, 3; Milwaukee, 2. Total, 46. No choice. Milwaukee dropped, Cincinnati withdrawn.

Second ballot: Philadelphia, 21; Boston, 13; Detroit, 7; Chicago, 5. No choice. Chicago dropped, Detroit withdrawn.

Third ballot: Philadelphia, 23; Boston, 23. A tie vote and no choice. The President ordered a fourth ballot.

Fourth ballot: Boston, 24; Philadelphia, 23. Boston, Mass., having received a majority of votes was declared to be the place for holding the Fourth Annual Session of the A. F. of L.

Adjourned at 12:05 noon to reconvene at 2 P. M.

Adjourned.

FIFTH DAY—Afternoon Session.

Convention assembled at 2 P. M. President Gompers in the Chair. P. J. McGuire, Secretary.

Absentees: Taylor, Nutt, Ogg, Goldwater and Foster.

Minutes of morning session read and approved.

Communications were read from A. Fuhrmann, San Francisco, Cal., and P. Granzin, New Orleans, La., all expressive of sympathy and support with the work of the Federation. Ordered that the President acknowledge receipt of the same and reciprocate the fraternal feelings expressed.

A resolution of regret at the illness of Delegate David Erbleding, of St. Louis, was adopted; also votes of thanks were extended to the Central Trade and Labor Unions of St. Louis, and Carpenters' Union No. 4, of St. Louis, for courtesies shown the delegates.

The question of granting a charter to the Garment Cutters' Union was referred to the Executive Council.

FORMATION OF EIGHT-HOUR LEAGUE.

The following resolution was then introduced and after a thorough discussion was unanimously adopted:

We recommend that in all cities and towns throughout the entire country the Trade and Labor unions should organize Eight-Hour Leagues upon a representative basis. Providing that these Leagues shall act in line with the Central Labor Unions or Trade Assemblies which take active part to further the achievement of the Eight Hour Workday.

Where there are no Central Labor Unions or Trade Assemblies in the vicinity, the Eight Hour Leagues may be authorized by the President of the Federation to take charge of the Eight Hour movement in that locality.

All Eight Hour Leagues shall report monthly what action has been taken by them to further the movement.

President Gompers then addressed the Convention and congratulated the delegates on the success of their labors and the harmony of their deliberations. The Third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor then adjourned to meet at Boston, Mass., December 10, 1889.

Adjourned *sine die*.

Attest: P. J. MCGUIRE,
Secretary.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE MEETING

O E

Executive Council American Federation of Labor.

St. Louis, December 15, 1888.

Immediately after the close of the Convention of the American Federation of Labor a meeting of the newly elected Executive Council was held in Room 26, Laclede Hotel, to take action upon the several subjects referred present and the following business transacted:

Resolved, that 2,500 copies of the proceedings be printed and sold at ten cents per copy.

That the Journals of Proceedings and financial and other reports be bound in book form for future reference.

That the matter of hiring a new office for the A. F. of L. be referred to the President and Treasurer, who are both located in New York.

Voted, that the President give the Secretary all the aid necessary to get the proceedings in the printers hands as soon as possible.

Voted, that the clerks' salaries shall not exceed \$15 each per week.

Resolved, that the matter of preparing and issuing the Eight Hour pamphlet be referred to the President, Secretary and Treasurer.

Voted, that stereotyped plates be made of all matter printed for the Federation.

Resolved, the arrangements of circulars, notices, etc., in reference to the first simultaneous mass meeting for the 'Eight Hour' movement to be held Washington's birthday, February 22, 1889, be referred to the President.

An offer to publish a German translation of Trant's Essay on Trade Unions, etc., was decided adversely, it being deemed inadvisable

for the Federation to assume the financial responsibility at present.

Upon motion the President was authorized to procure office fixtures not to exceed \$150 without the consent of the Executive Council.

Resolved, that an organizer recommended by President McBride, of the Coal Miners, be commissioned by the President of the Federation to organize the coal miners and mine laborers. The salary and expenses of the organizer to be borne by the Federation.

The President, upon motion, was directed to proceed to Indianapolis to address a meeting there on his way home.

The thanks of the Executive Council on behalf of the Federation was tendered to Ex-Treasurer G. Edmonston for his past services in the cause, to Aug. Specht & Co., of the St. Louis "Famous," for their courtesy and kindness to the delegates, and to Mr. S. S. Bass and Professor C. M. Woodward, for their addresses of welcome. The President, upon motion, was directed to communicate these expressions of thanks to the gentlemen named.

Resolved, that the President be authorized to pay his clerk the sum of \$50 as monies due for past services.

Resolved, that other matters referred to the Executive Council be decided by correspondence.

Voted, that the next meeting of the Executive Council be held in the office of the Federation in New York when occasion requires.

Adjourned.

Attest: P. J. MCGUIRE,
Secretary.

RESOLVED, That President Gompers be instructed to procure an estimate for the printing and publishing of a four-page monthly circular, pamphlet size, in the interest of the American Federation of Labor, and to submit estimate to vote of Executive Council. Carried.

RESOLVED, That in case the Brotherhood of Carpenters so request, President Gompers shall write to the national or international unions having local unions in Washington to instruct and advise such locals to stand by Carpenters' Union 190, Washington, D. C. Carried.

RESOLVED, In case the Amalgamated Carpenters apply for a charter, President Gompers is to consult the Brotherhood of Carpenters on the subject. Carried.

President Gompers was instructed to write a letter of fraternal greetings, in the name of the A. F. of L., to the forthcoming Trades Union Congress in England.

The Executive Council decided that \$50 be at once forwarded to the T. A. Armstrong Memorial Fund and \$50 to the W. H. Foster Memorial Fund.

RESOLVED, That President Gompers call on all affiliated bodies desiring legislation from Congress in their favor to prepare bills covering the same and to send them to President Gompers for presentation at Washington, D. C.; and further that President Gompers be instructed to carry out all instructions contained in any resolutions adopted at Baltimore, and he shall spend at least two weeks in Washington, D. C., this session of Congress in the interest of labor legislation. Carried.

Adjourned, *sine die*, 5:45 P. M.

P. J. McGUIRE, Secretary.

Financial Report for Six Months Ending May 28, 1888.

1887.	RECEIPTS.		
Dec.	1, Balance on hand	\$ 25 95	
	1, Brotherhood of Painters, etc., C. F.	5 00	
	1, Cigar Makers' Int. Union of America, P. C.	108 11	
	1, Ger.-Amr. Typographia, P. C.	5 00	
	1, United Organ Makers, P. C.	7	
	1, Car Builders' Union, D. T.	10 00	
	1, Phoenix Mutual Ass'n, P. C.	60	
	6, Stereotypers' Union, P. C.	6 00	
	7, Ohio Miners' Amalgamated Association, P. C.	27 00	
	9, Waiters' Union, P. C.	5 00	
	9, Brushmakers' International Union, C. F.	5 00	
	13, Central Labor Union, Brooklyn, D. T.	10 00	
	13, Trade and Lab. Co., Detroit, D. T.	10 00	
	13, Trade and Labor Union, St. Louis, D. T.	10 00	
	13, Central Labor Union, Cincinnati, D. T.	10 00	
	13, Central Labor Union, Cleveland, D. T.	10 00	
	13, Textile Workers' Union, P. C.	8 00	
	13, Metal Workers' Union of North America, P. C.	4 30	
	13, Granite Cutters' National Union, P. C.	10 00	
	13, Federation of Labor, Baltimore, D. T.	20 00	
	13, Miners' and L. A. A. of Pa. (3d Dist.), P. C.	20 00	
	13, N. E. Shoe Lasters' Protective Union, P. C.	20 00	
	13, Oystermen's Trade Union No. 3, C. F.	5 00	
	13, Federation of Labor, Washington, D. T.	20 00	
	13, Trade and Labor Union, Reading, D. T.	10 00	
	14, Federated Trade Council, Milwaukee, D. T.	10 00	
	14, Iron Molders' Union of N. A., C. F.	5 00	
	14, Iron Molders' Union of N. A., P. C.	70 00	
	17, N. E. Shoe Lasters' Protective Union, C. F.	5 00	
	17, A. A. of Iron and Steel Workers, C. F.	5 00	
	22, Ill. Miners' and M. Laborers' Protective Ass'n, P. C.	30 82	
	22, Barbers' Union, Muskegon, P. C.	10	
	28, Jour. Bakers' Nat. Union, P. C.	30 00	
	30, Jour. Tailors' Nat. Union, P. C.	10 00	
	31, Amer. Flint Glass Workers, P. C.	42 00	
1888.			
Jan.	3, Brotherhood of Painters, P. C.	5 00	
	3, Teamsters' and Laborers' Union, C. F.	5 00	
	3, Tailors' Nat. Prog. Union, P. C.	4 00	
	11, Cloth Hat Makers' Union, C. F.	5 00	
	11, United Organ Makers, P. C.	7	
	11, Cosmopolitan Workwomen's Association, P. C.	10	
	12, N. E. Shoe Lasters' Protective Union, Pro.	2 00	
	12, Shoe Workers' Pro. Union, C. F.	5 00	
	16, Coopers' National Union, C. F.	5 00	
	21, Web Press Printers, C. F.	5 00	
	21, Harness Makers' Union, C. F.	5 00	

23, Brotherhood of Carpenters, P. C.	\$ 65 19		
24, Int. Boatmen's Union, P. C.	2 80		
26, Ill. Miners' and M. Laborers' P. A., P. C.	8 89		
26, Brushmakers' Int. Union, P. C.	1 00		
26, Cloth Hat Makers' Union, Pro.	30		
30, Tailors' Nat. Prog. Union, Pro.	1 20		
30, Brotherhood of Painters, P. C.	5 00		
31, Trade and Labor Con., Reading, Pro.	1 90		
31, Iron Molders' Union No. 67, Pro.	1 00		
Feb.			
1, Jour. Tailors' Nat. Union, P. C.	5 00		
1, Brushmakers' Int. Union, Pro.	1 00		
4, Fed. Labor Union No. 1935, P. C.	70		
4, Umbrella Workers' Union, P. C.	1 00		
4, Ohio Miners' and M. L. A. A., P. C.	36 00		
4, Nat. Fed. Miners' and M. L. A. A., Pro.	50		
6, A. S. T. and Cornice Workers' Union, Pro.	2 00		
6, A. S. T. and Cornice Workers' Union, P. C.	1 00		
6, United Organ Makers, P. C.	4		
6, N. E. Shoe Lasters' Protective Union, P. C.	36 36		
9, Furniture Workers' Nat. Union, P. C.	28 00		
9, Furniture Workers' Nat. Union, Pro.	2 50		
10, Brotherhood Wire Drawers, C. F.	5 00		
10, Harness Makers' Union, Pro.	30		
11, McKay Stitches' Union, Pro.	1 00		
11, Granite Cutters' Nat. Union, Pro.	8 00		
11, Brotherhood of Carpenters, Pro.	10 00		
11, Oystermen's Trade Union, No. 1, P. C.	10 00		
11, Oystermen's Trade Union No. 4, C. F.	5 00		
14, Brotherhood of Carpenters, P. C.	65 13		
14, Jour. Barbers' Nat. Union, Pro.	1 00		
14, Coopers' Nat. Union, P. C.	3 00		
15, Textile Workers' Nat. Union, P. C.	2 00		
15, Steam Fitters' Association, C. F.	5 00		
15, Central Trade and Labor Union, St. Louis, Pro.	3 50		
15, Cosmo. W'm's Ass'n, P. C.	5		
16, Barbers' Union No. 2, P. C.	20		
16, Bartenders' Union No. 2, C. F.	5 00		
16, Conn. State Branch A. F. of L., D. T.	2 08		
16, Central Labor Union, Cincinnati, Pro.	1 00		
16, Int. Boatmen's Union, P. C.	1 40		
16, Int. Boatmen's Union No. 2, C. F.	5 00		
18, Metal Workers' Union, Pro.	1 00		
21, Mass. State Branch, Pro.	30 00		
24, A. A. Iron and Steel Workers, Pro.	97 50		
24, A. A. Iron and Steel Workers, P. C.			
24, Trade Assembly, Erie City, on ac., C. F.	\$ 4 00		
27, Tailors' Nat. Prog. Union, P. C.	4 00		
27, Ger.-Am. Typographia, P. C.	8 25		
27, Ger.-Am. Typographia, Pro.	2 00		
27, Hod Carriers' Union, C. F.	5 00		
28, Ill. State Federation, C. F.	5 00		
28, Textile Workers' Prog. Union, Pro.	1 00		
28, Horse Collar Makers' Union, Pro.	1 90		
29, Miners' and M. L. A. of W. Va., Dist. 1, Pro.	20		
Mar.			
1, Jour. Tailors' Nat. Union, P. C.	5 00		
1, C. G. F. B. and S. C.'s Union, C. F.	5 00		
5, Brotherhood of Painters, etc., P. C.	5 00		
6, United Organ Makers, P. C.	8		
8, Oystermen's T. U. No. 5, C. F.	5 00		
8, Shoe Workers' Pro. Union, P. C.	33		
9, Box Sawyers and N. Union, C. F.	5 00		
9, Ohio Miners' Amal. Ass'n., P. C.	17 00		
12, Barbers' Union No. 2, P. C.	10		
13, Lathers' Union, C. F.	5 00		
13, Tin Plate Workers' Union, C. F.	5 00		
13, Brushmakers' Int. Union, P. C.	50		
13, Hair Spinners' Union No. 1, C. F.	5 00		
16, Stone Masons' Union, C. F.	5 00		
16, Metal Workers' U. of N. A., P. C.	4 12		
16, Brotherhood of Carpenters, P. C.	65 13		
16, Cosmo. W'm's Ass'n., P. C.	3		
16, Stone Masons' Union, P. C.	25		
19, Cloth Hat Mks' Union, P. C.	1 00		
19, Connecticut State Branch, A. F. of L., D. T.	2 10		
20, Bartndrs' Union No. 1, P. C.	75		
21, Ill. Miners and M. L. P. A., P. C.	15 58		
22, Oystermen's T. U. No. 3, P. C.	55		
23, Builders' Laborers' Union, C. F.	5 00		
23, Tube Workers' Union, C. F.	5 00		
23, Central L. U., Harrisburg, C. F.	5 00		
29, Builders' Laborers' Union, S. P. C.	4 00		
30, Jour. Tailors' Nat. Union, P. C.	5 00		
31, Brewery Workmen's N. U., P. C.	117 53		
April			
4, Central L. U., Reading, o. a., C. F.	1 00		
5, Lightermen's Union, C. F.	5 00		
7, Federal Labor U. No. 2479, C. F.	5 00		
7, Tin and S. I. Work's Coun., P. C.	2 00		
7, Ohio Miners' Amal. Ass'n., P. C.	17 00		
7, Illinois State Federation, S. P. C.	4 00		
7, C. G. F. B. and S. Clerks' U., P. C.	12		
10, A. S. T. and Cor. Workers' U., P. C.	1 00		
10, Brotherhood of Painters, P. C.	6 25		
10, Jour. Barbers' N. U. of A., C. F.	5 00		
10, Hod Carriers' Union, P. C.	1 30		

10, Tallymen's Union, C. F.	5 00	Convention—Sergt.-at-A. H. Shunger. \$	12 50
10, Steam Fitters' Union, P. C.	4	Convention—Messenger, Hugh Mc-	
11, Oystermen's T. U. No. 2, P. C.	55	Gregor	10 00
11, United Organ Makers, P. C.	4	Convention—R. R. fare of Hugh Mc-	
14, N. Y. State B., A. F. of L., C. F.	5 00	Gregor	8 00
14, Barbers' Union No. 2, P. C.	10	R. R. fare, Baltimore and Washing-	
17, Butchers and M. C. Union, C. F.	5 00	ton, S. Gompers	2 50
17, Butchers and M. C. Union, S.	4 00	Charter fees returned, Progressive	
17, German Waiters' Union, C. F.	5 00	Musical Union and Bartenders'	
18, N. E. Shoe Lasters' Pro. U., P. C.	36 36	Union, of Brooklyn	10 00
18, Horse Collar Makers' N. U., C. F.	5 00	Delegate tax returned, Federation of	
19, Conn. State B'h, A. F. of L., D. T.	2 10	Labor, Washington, D. C.	20 00
19, Brotherhood of Boiler Mkr., P. C.	8 75	Office—Book, pens, bands and sundries	2 65
20, Harness Makers' Union, P. C.	18	Office—Papers and advertising	1 57
24, Cosmo. Wm'n's Ass'n., P. C.	3	Office—Postage and telegram	2 10
25, Cigar Makers' Int. U. of A., P. C.	102 05	Salaries—President and clerk	130 00
26, Hod Carriers' Union, P. C.	26		
27, Tile Layers' Union, C. F.	5 00	January, 1888.	
1, Jour. Tailors' Nat. Union, P. C.	5 00	Office—Furniture	20 57
1, Jour. Barbers' Nat. Union, S.	6 00	Office—Desk	16 00
2, Hair Spinners' Union No. 2, C. F.	5 00	Office—Sign, clock, etc.	2 44
4, Brotherhood of Painters, etc., P. C.	6 25	Printing—2,000 Letter heads	7 50
4, Jour. Butchers' Union, C. F.	5 00	Printing—1,000 Constitutions	5 00
7, C. G. F. B. and S. Clerk's U. P. C.	10	Printing—1,000 Address lists	4 75
9, Brotherhood of Carpenters, P. C.	64 69	Printing—1,000 Monthly report blanks	4 75
9, United Organ Makers, P. C.	4	Printing—1,000 Application blanks	3 25
10, Miners and Mine Laborers of Pa., District No. 3, P. C.	10 58	Printing—1,000 Letter circulars	2 50
10, Ohio Miners' Amal. Ass'n, P. C.	14 25	Printing—1,000 Cards	2 43
12, Iron Moulders' U. of N. A., P. C.	50 00	"Union Advocate"—Cancelled matter.	34 95
14, Textile Workers' Prog. U., P. C.	3 00	2,000 printed stamped envelopes	7 25
17, Conn. State B., A. F. of L., D. T.	2 00	Rubber signatures and stamps	2 60
18, Stone Masons' Union, S.	1 00	Hectograph and supplies	2 50
18, Stone Masons' Union, P. C.	2 25	Fountain pen	2 23
19, Brotherhood of Carpenters, P. C.	68 21	Book and stationery	1 50
19, Hod Carriers' Union, P. C.	50	Charter tubes	5 00
22, Tailors' Nat. Prog. Union, P. C.	6 00	Charter fee returned, Shoemakers' P. U.	
26, Cigar Makers' Int. U. of A., P. C.	49 12	Subscriptions returned, "Union Ad-	
28, A. A. Iron and Steel Work-ers, National Lodge	112 50	vocate"	3 50
	\$2,047 28	Expressage	1 60
		Postage and telegrams	4 55
		Car fare of Clerk, and sundries	1 89
		Gas (3 months) for old office	4 00
		Attending Bricklayers' Convention, Boston, S. Gompers	34 00
		Preparing report of Convention and postage, P. J. McGuire	22 40
		Salaries—President and clerk	150 00
		February.	
		Printing—1,000 Reports of proceed-	
		ings of Convention	105 00
		Printing—1,000 Appeals for Pennsyl-	
		vania miners	6 00
		Printing—Certificates of affiliation	25 00
		Printing—Organizers' commissions	4 50
		Seals for organizers' commissions	80
		Stereotyping constitution	2 50
		Hektograph paper, etc.	94
		Subscriptions returned, Union Advo-	
		cate	50
		Cleaning and removing office	6 30
		Expressage	1 65
		Postage and telegrams	11 09
		Car fare of clerk, and sundries	1 20
		Gas for office	2 00
		Salaries—President and clerk	140 00
		March.	
		Subscriptions returned, Union Advo-	
		cate	2 00
		Stationery	40
		Postage and telegrams	1 55
		Gas for office	2 00
		Car fare of clerk, and sundries	75
		Salaries—President and clerk	140 00

Note.—C. F., Certificate, or Charter Fee.
P. C., Per Capita Tax.
D. T., Delegate Tax.
S., Supplies.

EXPENDITURES.

December, 1887.

Union Advocate—Printing	62 25
Union Advocate—Expressing	50
Convention—Hall Rent	120 00
Convention—Stationery	7 50
Convention—Trunk for documents	3 25
Convention—Expressing documents	1 00

April.		5, Carpenters' Union No. 90.	5 00
Office fixtures	\$ 12 77	6, Brewers' Un. No. 1, of N.Y.	50 00
Supplies for local unions	9 00	6, Firemen's Union No. 30.	20 00
Postage and telegrams	7 67	7, Cigar Makers' Union No. 17.	15 00
Stationery	53	7, Cigar Makers' Union No. 49.	10 00
Gas for office	2 00	10, Iron and Steel Wrks. No. 8.	5 00
Salaries—President and clerk	150 00	12, J. B. Haines.	1 50
		12, Massachusetts State Branch.	1 00
May.		16, Metal Workers' Union.	1 50
Office—Rent (four months)	48 00	20, Brooklyn Bartenders' Union.	4 00
Office—Fuel (December, 1887, to date)	12 00	20, Carpenters' Union No. 124.	5 00
Office—Gas	2 00	21, L. G. C. Pierce.	3 25
Office—Fixtures	1 00	21, Cigar Makers' Union No. 160	3 00
Supplies for unions	7 25	22, Mrs. Sahlin	1 00
Stationery	2 82	29, Oystermen's Union No. 1.	10 00
Postage and telegrams	8 83	31, Brewers' Union No. 17.	55 00
Car fare of clerk, and sundries	70	31, Brewers' Union No. 2.	20 00
Attending Ex. Council—		31, Brewers' Union No. 21.	5 00
Samuel Gompers	7 00	April 4, Cosmopolitan W. Assn.	10 00
Daniel McLaughlin	58 50	7, German Moulders' Union No. 35.	10 00
Wm. Martin	27 00	12, Illinois State Federation.	25 00
G. Edmonston	11 50	18, Barbers' Union of Muskegon.	5 00
Salaries—President and clerk	160 00	May 7, Barbers' Union of Reading.	5 00
	\$1,725 23		
Cash on hand, May 28, 1888.	322 05		
	\$2,047 28		

Philadelphia, Pa., May 28, 1888.
Audited this day and found correct to date.
P. J. MCGUIRE,
D. McLAUGHLIN,
WM. MARTIN.

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES FOR LEHIGH VALLEY, PA., MINERS.—INCOME.

Feb. 6, Baltimore Fed. of Labor.	\$ 59 00
28, Beer Drivers' Union No. 1.	25 00
29, Moses Oppenheimer	50
Mar. 3, Indianapolis C. T. and L. U.	10 00
3, N. Y. Stereotypers' Ass'n.	25 00

Feb. 20, Receipt, T. M. Thomas.	\$ 59 00
Mar. 2, Receipt, T. M. Thomas.	135 50
21, Receipt, T. M. Thomas.	34 00
April 4, Receipt, T. M. Thomas.	80 00
16, Receipt, T. M. Thomas.	25 00
17, Receipt, T. M. Thomas.	48 25
May 13, Receipt, T. M. Thomas.	10 00

Philadelphia, Pa., May 28, 1888.
Audited and found correct.
P. J. MCGUIRE,
WM. MARTIN,
D. McLAUGHLIN,
G. EDMONSTON.

LABOR OMNIA VINCIT

American Federation of Labor

HEADQUARTERS

171 East 91st Street, New York City

SAMUEL GOMPERS, President

Financial Report for the Quarter Ending November 30th, 1888

RECEIPTS.

September.

1. Balance per last report.....	\$ 420 95	26. Cigar Makers' Int. Union, P. C....	44 00
4. F. L. U., Sturgeon Bay, Wis., No. 2705, S.....	5 75	26. Cigar Makers' Int. Union, P. C....	44 00
4. Jour. Tailors' Nat. Union, P. C....	5 00	26. Cigar Makers' Int. Union, P. C....	44 33
6. Tallymens' Union, Muskegon, Mich., No. 2582, P. C.....	50	26. Ill. Miners' Prot. Assn., P. C....	6 98
12. Brotherhood of Painters and Dec- orators, P. C.....	7 50	26. Ill. Miners' Prot. Assn.....	5 58
12. Society of Carpenters, C. F.....	5 00	27. Machinists & Blacksmiths, Wheel- ing, W. Va., No. 2712, S.....	4 00
16. Ohio Miners' A. A., P. C.....	16 25	27. Hair Signers, Balt. No. 2472, P.C.	30
26. Ger. Teamsters and Lab. Union, East Saginaw No. 2446, C. F....	5 00	31. Total from sale of Pamphlets for month	104 98
26. Cotton Spinners, Harrison, N. J., No. 2709, C. F.....	5 00		
26. Cotton Spinners, Harrison, N. J., No. 2709, S.....	1 15		
26. Marble and Slate Workers, Alle- gheny, Pa., No. 2711, C. F....	5 00		
26. State Branch, Connecticut, D. T....	4 24		
27. Mach. & Blacksmiths, Wheeling, W. Va., No. 2712, C. F.....	5 00		
27. Bro. Carpenters and Joiners, P. C.	69 42		
29. Oystermen's Union, Seaford, Del., No. 2445, P. C.....	60		
29. Int. Bro. Boiler Makers, P. C.....	5 00		
30. Total from sale of Pamphlet dur- ing month	49 20		

October.

2. Bro. Painters and Decorators, P.C.	7 50	8. Int. Furniture Workers' Union, P. C.....	6 50
2. Umbrella and Walking Stick Makers No. 278, P. C.....	1 25	8. Int. Furniture Workers' Union, P. C.....	6 50
4. Trades Assn., Rochester, C. F....	5 00	8. F. L. U., Cohoes, No. 2729, C.F.	5 00
4. Trades Assn., Rochester, S.....	4 00	9. Iron Molders' Union of N. A., P. C.....	200 00
4. Jour. Tailors' Nat. Union, P. C....	5 00	9. Granite Cutters' National Union, C. F.....	5 00
5. Elastic Web Weavers' A. A., C.F.	5 00	12. F. L. U., N. Y. City, No. 2714, S.	4 00
5. Ohio Miners' A. A., P. C.....	14 75	17. American Flint Glass Wks., P.C.	88 50
6. Stone Masons, McKeesport, Pa., No. 2698, S.....	4 50	20. Elastic Web Weavers, P. C.....	65
11. Int. Boatmen's Union of N. Y., No. 279, P. C.....	2 25	23. Horse Collar Makers' Union, P. C.	3 00
16. Cotton Spinners, Harrison, N. J., No. 2709, S.....	4 00	23. Slaters' Union, Allegheny, Pa., No. 2704, S.....	5 00
17. Hair Spinners, Hyde Park, Mass., No. 2708, S.....	4 00	24. F. L. U., Sturgeon Bay, Wis., No. 2705, P. C.....	53
17. Oystermen's Union, N. Y. City, No. 41, P. C.....	5 10	29. Tailors' Prog. Union, P. C.....	3 00
18. Lathers Union, Cohoes, N. Y., No. 2700, P. C.....	20	30. Tile Layers' Union, N. Y. City, No. 2690, P. C.....	45
19. F. L. U., Chicago, Ill., No. 2703, P. C.....	36	30. Clerks' Union, Muskegon, Mich., P. C.....	40
23. Marble Workers, Allegheny, Pa., No. 2711, S.....	75	30. Coopers' Nat. Union, P. C.....	2 00
24. Lasters' Prot. Union, P. C.....	72 72	30. Cigarmakers' Int. Union, P. C....	88 77
25. Bro. Carpenters and Joiners, P.C.	67 85	30. Bro. of Carpenters & Joiners, P.C.	67 81
25. Trade and Labor Council, Read- ing, Pa., C. F.....	5 00	30. Iron & Steel Workers' A. A., Grand Lodge, P. C.....	37 50
25. F. L. U., Tacoma, Wash. Ter- ritory No. 2713, C. F.....	5 00	30. Total from sale of pamphlets for month	120 69

Note.—C. F., Certificate, or Charter Fee.
P. C., Per Capita Tax.
D. T., Delegate Tax.
S., Supplies.

EXPENDITURES.

September, 1888.

Printing Pamphlets	\$ 64 25
Printing 500 certificates of membership	9 25
Printing 2,000 letter circulars.....	9 00
Printing 5,000 ode cards	8 75
Printing 2,000 application blanks....	8 00
Printing 3,000 circulars	6 75
Printing 1,000 letter heads	3 75
Printing 1,000 note heads	3 50
Printing 2,500 circulars	2 00
Printing 1,000 working cards.....	2 00
Printing 1,000 envelopes	1 50
Stationery	2 64
Postage	23 85
Expressage	5 20
Telegrams	6 03
Supplies	4 00
Sundries	2 25
Salaries President and clerk.....	160 00

October, 1888.

Printing Pamphlets	88 15
Printing 3,500 circulars and plates....	19 50
Printing 1,000 convention calls and financial reports	11 50
Printing 2,000 convention calls.....	8 50
Printing 1,000 letter circulars.....	4 25
Printing 1,000 note circulars	2 75
Printing 2,000 envelopes	3 00
Stationery	42
Postage	43 93
Expressage	5 75

Telegrams	\$ 6 24
Supplies	6 00
Sundries	2 55
Office help	40 00
Salaries President and clerk.....	148 00

November, 1888.

Printing Pamphlets	169 10
Printing 1,000 credentials	11 50
Printing 1,000 convention calls	6 25
Stationery for Convention.....	27 87
Postage	12 50
Expressage	14 65
Telegrams	2 72
Supplies	4 00
Traveling and organizing.....	135 00
Rent 4 months, ending Dec. 15.....	48 00
Gas 4 months, ending Dec. 15.....	8 00
Fuel 4 months, ending Dec. 15.....	9 00
Sundries	2 56
Office help	68 00
Salaries President and clerk.....	160 00

Cash on hand Aug. 30, 1888.....	\$1392 41
Total receipts for quarter ending Nov. 30, 1888	\$ 420 95
	1576 29

Total expenses for quarter ending Nov. 30, 1888.....	1997 24
	1392 41

Cash on hand Nov. 30, 1888.....	\$ 604 83
---------------------------------	-----------

BALANCE SHEET FOR THE YEAR ENDING NOVEMBER 30, 1888.

Dr.

Cash on hand Dec. 1, 1887.....	\$ 25 95
Charter fees	345 00
Capita tax	3585 48
Delegate tax	151 26
Proceedings and pamphlets	348 87
Supplies	81 94
	\$4,538 50
Total expenses	3,933 67
Cash on hand	\$ 604 83

Cr.

Printing	\$ 703 25
Printing The Union Advocate.....	71 18
Stationery	60 65
Postage, telegrams & expressage.....	255 35
Office fixtures and utensils.....	76 04
Rent, light and fuel.....	297 50
Charter fees returned	15 00
Delegate tax returned	20 00
Supplies	37 00
Donations for memorial stones.....	100 00
Traveling and organizing.....	249 50
Sundries	21 97
Clerk's salary and other services....	826 20
President's salary	1,200 00
	\$3,933 67

COMPARATIVE SUMMARY.

1887.	1888.
Total receipts	\$2,100 34
Total expenses	2,074 39
	\$ 25 95
Balance	\$ 604 83

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

Headquarters: 171 East 91st Street, New York City

SAMUEL GOMPERS, President

Financial Report for the Quarter Ending August 31st, 1888

RECEIPTS.

June, 1888.

1. Balance, per audited report.....	\$ 322 05
1. F. L. U. No. 2696, Chicago, C. F.	5 00
1. Bro. Wire Drawers, P. C.	55 23
1. Steamfitters, Syracuse, N. Y., P. C.	23 06
1. Steamfitters, Syracuse, N. Y., S.	79 00
1. Stone Masons, McKeesport, C. F.	5 00
1. Hair Spinners No. 1, P. C.	30 30
1. Ill. Miners' Prot. Ass'n., P. C.	7 75
1. Ill. Miners' Prot. Ass'n., P. C.	9 50
1. Jour. Tailors' Nat. Union, P. C.	5 00
1. Bakers' P. C.	Brooklyn,
4. Ger-Am., P. C.	2 10
4. Linenens' Union, P. C.	8 25
4. Mus. Union, Boston, Md. C. F.	2 40
9. Jour. Barbers' Nat. Union, S.	9 00
9. Hod Carriers, Lincoln, Neb., S.	4 00
11. Bro. Painters & Decorators, P. C.	6 25
11. Org. Mks., Wash't'n, N. J., P. C.	64 00
11. Iron Moulders' Union of N. A., P. C.	50 00
11. Tallymens' Union, Muskegon, Mich., P. C.	45 00
12. Lathers' Union, Cohoes, N. Y., P. C.	12 00
13. Tile Layers' Union, S.	8 00
14. International Boatmen's, P. C.	90 00
14. Ladies' F. L. U. No. 2703, C. F.	5 00
15. Bro. Wire Drawers, S.	4 00
15. Hair Spinners' No. 2, P. C.	36 00
16. Red Ass'n. Miners' of Ind., C. F.	12 50
21. Ohio Miners' Amal. Ass'n., P. C.	10 00
21. Clerks, C. G. F. R.	2 37
25. Bro. Carpenters & Joiners, P. C.	69 51
27. Ill. Miners' Prot. Ass'n., P. C.	7 76
28. Oystermen's Union No. 2, P. C.	54 00

28. Shoe Workers' Prot. Union, P. C.	35 00
28. Horse Collar Makers' Nat. Union, P. C.	3 34
28. Conn. State Branch, A. F. of L., D. T.	4 24
29. Slaters' Union, Pittsburgh, Pa., C. F.	5 00
30. Brushmakers' Nat. Union, P. C.	1 50
July, 1888.	
3. Int. Furniture Wks' Union, P. C.	14 00
5. Jour. Bakers' Nat. Union, P. C.	59 05
5. Ill. C. F.	5 00
7. Bro. Painters & Decorators, P. C.	1 00
10. Arc. S. I. & Cornice Wks., P. C.	1 00
10. Mass. State Branch, A. F. of L., D. T.	12 50
14. Trade & Labor Co., Detroit, Mich., C. F.	5 00
24. Bro. Carpenters & Joiners, P. C.	69 79
24. N. E. Lasters' Prot. Union, P. C.	72 72
24. F. L. U. No. 2705, Sturgeon Bay, Wis., C. F.	5 00
24. Ohio Miners' Amal. Ass'n., P. C.	13 50
27. Amer. Flint Glass Wks., P. C.	5 00
27. Hair Spinners' No. 1, P. C.	43 50
27. Hod Carriers, Lincoln, Neb., P. C.	75 00
27. Lightermens', E. Saginaw, Mich., P. C.	1 05
27. Clerks, C. G. F. B. & S. Union, P. C.	10 00
27. Org. Mks., Washington, N. J., P. C.	06 00
27. Stone Masons', McKeesport, Pa., P. C.	05 00
28. Textile Wks' Prog. Union, P. C.	2 00
28. Jour. Tailors' Nat. Union, P. C.	10 00
28. Box Sawyers, etc., St. Louis, Mo., P. C.	1 08

Note.—C. F., Certificate, or Charter Fee.

P. C., Per Capita Tax.

D. T., Delegate Tax.

S., Supplies.

\$1,236 98

EXPENDITURES

June, 1888.

Printing 1,000 traveling cards.....	\$ 3 75
Printing 5,000 constitutions.....	12 00
Printing 2,000 appeals (Brewers').....	10 00
Printing 500 working cards.....	2 70
Printing 2,000 letter circulars.....	9 00
Printing 2,000 stamped envelopes.....	34 80
Printing 500 financial reports.....	14 00
Office fixtures.....	12 76
Postage, expressage and telegrams....	6 25
Postage, expressage and telegrams....	4 90
Seals for local unions.....	6 75
Sundries.....	3 50
Salaries—President and Clerk.....	150 00

July, 1888.

Printing 100 notices of arrears.....	\$ 3 50
Donation to Thos. A. Armstrong Memorial.....	50 00
Donation to William H. Foster Memorial.....	50 00
Stationery.....	3 80
Postage and telegrams.....	4 19
Railroad fare, hotel, etc., 2 weeks in Washington, D. C., S. Gompers.....	70 00
Sundries.....	1 30
Salaries—President and clerk.....	140 00

August, 1888.

Printing 5,500 note circulars.....	\$ 10 00
Printing 1,000 manuals.....	16 00
Electrotyping.....	1 75
Hectograph and paper.....	3 40
Postage and telegrams.....	0 38
Sundries.....	1 80
Office rent (3 months).....	36 00
Office gas (3 months).....	4 50
Salaries—President and clerk.....	140 00

Cash on hand, August 31, 1888:

Treasurer.....	\$110 25
President.....	310 70

420 95

\$1,236 89

INDEX.

	1881.	Page
Addresses—		
by J. S. Shattuck	10	
by R. E. Weber.....	10	
by Alex. C. Rankin.....	10, 19	
by James Lynch	10	
by Mr. Powers	18	
by Mr. Dwyer	18	
by Mr. Michels	18	
by Mr. Gompers	18	
by Mr. Brant	19	
by President Jarrett	19	
by Mr. Burgman	19	
by Mr. Somers	19	
by Mr. Cummin	19	
by Mr. Crawford	19	
Appeal—		
from decision of chairman.....	16	
Appointments—		
of Committee on Plan of Organization.....	12	
of Committee on Rules.....	12	
of Sergeants at Arms.....	12	
of Committee on Permanent Organization	10	
of Committee on Resolutions of Sympathy	12, 15	
Ballot—		
for General Secretary.....	23	
Bonds—		
Treasurer and Secretary to give bonds.....	24	
amount of bonds determined.....	24	
Accounts—		
when to be closed	5	
Call—		
for First Congress	6	
Chinese Coolies—		
resolution regarding	4	
debate on	20	
Child Labor—		
addresses on subject of.....	18	
Committee on Credentials—		
appointment of	7	
report of	7	
special report of.....	9	
Committee on Permanent Organization—		
appointment of	10	
report of	11	
minority report of.....	11	
Committee on Plan of Organization—		
appointment of	12	
report of	15	
debate on report of.....	16	
Committee on Platform of Principles—		
chosen	11	
report of	18	
Committee on Resolutions and Platform of Principles—		
plan of formation	10	
Committee on Rules—		
appointed	12	
report of	12	
Communications—		
from New York trades unionists.....	21	
from R. F. Travellick, Detroit.....	21	
from John Phillips, secretary National Hat Finishers' Trade Association... ..	21	
from Cigarmakers' Union No. 63.....	21	
from C. Speyer, secretary International Labor Union of America.....	21	
from Pittsburg Confederation of Labor	17	
Congress of the United States—		
bill for petition to	12	
Credentials—		
appointment of Committee on.....	7	
report of Committee on.....	9	
Declaration of Principles.....	3	
Debate—		
on report of Committee on Plan of Organization	16, 17	
on report of Committee on Platform..	18	
on tariff question.....	19	
on employment of child labor.....	18	
Delegates—		
names and addresses.....	7, 8, 9	
Discussion—		
on report of Committee on Plan of Organization	16, 17	
on report of Committee on Declaration of Principles.....	18	
Donation—		
from Cigarmakers' Union No. 63.....	23	
Duties—		
of Legislative Committee.....	4	
Elections—		
of Temporary Chairman.....	7	
of Temporary Secretaries	7	
of Permanent Chairman.....	11	
of Vice-Presidents	11	
of Permanent Secretaries	11	
of General Secretary.....	23	
of Legislative Committee.....	23	
Employment of Children—		
address by Mr. Powers	18	
address by Mr. Dwyer	18	
address by Mr. Michels	18	
address by Mr. Gompers	18	

	Page		Page
First Congress—		Minority Report—	
call for	6	of Committee on Permanent Organi-	
convention of	6	zation	11
Funds—		Nominations—	
voluntary subscriptions asked for.....	24	for Temporary Chairman.....	7
amount received	24	for Temporary Secretaries.....	7
General Secretary—		for Permanent Chairman.....	11
nominations for	22	for Vice-Presidents	11
election of	22	for General Secretary.....	22
Gompers—		for Legislative Committee	23
personal explanation by.....	10	Non-union Newspapers—	
address by	18	resolutions in condemnation of.....	10
Greetings—		Objects—	
with parliamentary Committee of Great		of the Federation.....	4
Britain exchanged	15	Organization—	
Informal Meeting—		composing the Federation.....	4
for exchange of ideas on labor ques-		Papers—	
tion	10	no papers except for legislative pur-	
Inter-State Commerce—		poses shall be read.....	5
address by Mr. Rankin.....	19	no member shall read more than one.	5
resolution regarding	19	all papers shall be sent to secretary of	
Ireland—		Legislative Committee before meet-	
resolution of sympathy for.....	18	ing of Congress	5
Jones, D. R.—		shall be read and arranged by Legis-	
resolution of sympathy for.....	16	lative Committee	5
Legislative Committee—		Papers and Resolutions—	
shall consist of five delegates.....	4	to be referred to Committee on Plat-	
duties of	4	form of Principles without debate... 12	
election of	4, 23	Platform	3
officers of	4	committee on, chosen.....	11
remuneration of	4	ratified as a whole.....	20
who eligible to serve on.....	5	Plan of Organization—	
treasurer of shall be custodian of all		committee on appointed	12
surplus money	5	report of committee on	15, 17, 22
when report shall be presented.....	5	Place of Meeting—	
chairman shall preside until election		referred to committee on selection... 23	
of President	5	committee's report on.....	23
shall assist Local Committee on ar-		selection of	23
rangements	5	Politics—	
shall be members of succeeding con-		members of Legislative Committee pre-	
gress	5	cluded from publicly advocating	
sub-committee shall meet one week be-		claims of political parties.....	24
fore meeting of congress.....	5	Post-office Addresses—	
shall consider all proposed amend-		of President Richard Powers.....	24
ments to standing orders.....	5	of First Vice-President Samuel Gom-	
organization of	24	pers	24
officers elected	24	of Second Vice-President Charles F.	
Lynch, James—		Burgman	24
remarks by	11	of Treasurer Alex. C. Rankin.....	24
Mines and Miners—		of Secretary W. H. Foster.....	24
resolution relating to adopted.....	12	Preamble	3
Macdonald, Alexander—		President—	
resolutions on death of.....	12	when to be elected	5
Meetings—		election of	11
place of	5	post-office address	24
time of	5	Prayer—	
Method of Organization—		by Mr. Mackenzie	6, 24
proposed by Mr. Burgman.....	12	Printing—	
		proceedings ordered printed.....	24

	Page		Page
Ratification—		Resolutions—	
of platform as a whole.....	20	by Mr. Streat, urging delegates to as-	
Reconsideration—		sist in organizing unions	22
of resolution creating Committee on		by Committee on Plan of Organization,	
Resolutions and Platform of Prin-		authorizing Legislative Committee to	
ciples	11	solicit subscriptions	22
Representation—		by Mr. Betting, asking all smokers to	
basis of	4	buy none but union made cigars....	22
Reports—		by Mr. Brant, expressing sympathy for	
of Committee on Credentials.....	7	Detroit brass workers and other par-	
of Committee on Permanent Organiza-		tially organized trades.....	25
tion	11	Revenue—	
of Committee on Rules.....	12	shall be derived by per capita tax on	
of M. W. Moore, secretary of Terre		members of unions affiliated.....	4
Haute convention	13	per capita tax shall be paid quarterly in	
of Committee on Platform.....	18	advance	4
of Special Committee on Resolutions of		Resolutions of Sympathy—	
Sympathy	16, 18	appointment of committee on.....	12, 15
of Committee on Nomination of Leg-		for people of Ireland.....	12
islative Committee	23	referred to special committee.....	12
Resolutions—		report of committee.....	16, 18
fixing hours of sessions.....	10	for D. R. Jones.....	16
by J. S. Shattuck, denouncing Pitts-		Salary—	
burg newspapers	10	of Secretary to be fixed by Legisla-	
regarding Chinese coolies	4, 20	tive Committee	22
supplementary	4	Seal and Address—	
creating Committee on Resolutions and		sub-committee on, appointed.....	24
Platform of Principles, adopted....	10	design adopted	24
creating Committee on Resolutions		Sessions—	
and Platform of Principles, recon-		hours of	5
sidered	11	place of	5
relating to mines and miners.....	12	Secretary—	
on death of Alexander Macdonald....	12	shall be elected at annual Congress....	5
exchanging greetings with Great Brit-		shall also be Secretary of Legislative	
ain	15	Committee	5
from Pittsburg Confederation of La-		salary of	22
bor	17	vacancy in office of.....	5
for governmental supervision of rail-		Sergeants at Arms—	
way and telegraph companies.....	19	appointment of	12
for governmental regulation of inter-		Special Committees—	
state commerce	19	on Resolution of Sympathy appointed..	12
in relation to railroad land grants....	19	report of	16, 18
in relation to public lands.....	23	on selection of place of meeting ap-	
of thanks to Pittsburg newspapers... 24		pointed	23
by Mr. Pollner, for publication of pro-		report of	23
ceedings of Congress.....	21	on nominations of Legislative Commit-	
by Mr. Brant, for exchange of greet-		tee, appointed	23
ings with English brethren.....	21	report of	23
by Mr. Gompers, regarding manufac-		Special Reports—	
ture of tenement house cigars.....	21	of Committee on Credentials.....	9
by Mr. Powers, concurring in action of		Standing Orders	5
Seamen's Union	21	adopted as reported	20
by Mr. Dwyer, requesting painters to		adopted as a whole.....	22
form a National Association	21	Standing Order Committee—	
by Mr. Mackenzie, requesting book-		duties of	5
binders to organize	21	when to be elected	5
by Mr. Lynch, requesting aid in or-		shall have charge of business of Con-	
ganizing brass workers.....	21	gress	5
by Mr. Burgman, tendering thanks to		shall have charge of financial arrange-	
James A. Whitney.....	22	ments of Congress.....	5

Supplementary Resolutions—	Page	Telegrams—	Page
regarding immigration of Chinese....	4	from Buffalo County Committee.....	20
regarding licensing of stationary engi-		from J. P. McDonnell, Paterson, N. J. 20	
neers, etc.	4	from John B. Wright, Boston.....	21
regarding inspection of mines, facto-		Thanks—	
ries, workshops, etc.....	4	tendered to Pittsburg newspapers.....	24
Tariff—		tendered to President Jarrett.....	20
debate on	19	Terre Haute Convention—	
by Mr. Brant	19	report of Secretary of.....	13
by President Jarrett.....	19	Vote of Thanks—	
by Mr. Burgman	19	to President Jarrett.....	20
by Mr. Somers.....	19	Walsh, M. P.—	
by Mr. Cummin.....	19	personal explanation by.....	10
by Mr. Crawford	19		

1882.

Accounts—	Page	Committee of—	Page
annual accounts shall be closed two		standing orders, shall have charge of	
weeks before assembling of a Con-		all business of the Congress, discus-	
gress	5	sions and financial affairs.....	5
Address—		Communication—	
by George A. Colliss.....	7	(1) from Chicago Trades Assembly... 13	
by Mr. Powers	8	(2) from Paterson, New Jersey..... 13	
by Frank K. Foster, Subject, "Protec-		(3) from P. J. McGuire.....	18
tion vs. Wages".....	11	(4) from "Elmira Telegram".....	21
by Mr. Howard	17	Credentials—	
by Mr. Frank Foster.....	17	report of Committee on.....	13
by Mr. Foran	18	Debate—	
by Mr. Grenell	19	shall cease on call of 7 delegates and	
by Mr. Powers	20	vote shall be taken.....	6
by Mr. Foster	20	Declaration—	
by Mr. Compers	20	of Chicago Trades Assembly with re-	
Amendment—		gard to eight-hour day.....	12, 14
to standing orders	6	Delegate—	
to Art. II of the Plan of Organization. 17		(1) shall not leave a session of Con-	
Apprentice Laws—		gress unless on special business.... 6	
resolution on	13, 15	(2) shall address the chair when rising	
Appointment of—		to speak	6
Committee on Order of Business..... 12		(3) shall confine himself to the ques-	
Committee on Basis of Representation		tion when speaking	6
and the Per Capita Tax.....	12, 15	(4) restrictions on the actions of.... 6	
Committee on Next Meeting Place.... 12		(5) name of those at second annual ses-	
Committee on Platform of Principles. 13		sion	6
Committee on Organization.....	18	(6) F. K. Foster declared delegate.... 8	
Committee for Receiving the Bills of the		Duties—	
Present Congress.....	20	of Legislative Committee.....	5, 6
Auditing Committee—		Eight-hour Day—	
report of	12	resolutions on	12, 14
Candidates of Legislative Committee—		Election—	
eligibility of	6	of officers to be first business of Con-	
Chairman—		gress	5
(1) shall call the Congress to order at		of officers	8
appointed time	6	of Hugo Miller as German Secretary 12	
(2) addressed by those who wish to		of General Secretary.....	21
speak	6	of Legislative Committee.....	21
(3) shall decide who has the floor.... 6		Elmira Telegram—	
Chinese Exclusion Act—		resolution endorsing	19
Legislative Committee instructed con-		Employee's Liability Act—	
cerning	17	resolution concerning	14, 15

Federations—	Page	Motion—	Page
state or provincial shall pay \$10 per an-		(1) to lay on table.....	6
num for each delegate sent to ses-		(2) for reconsideration	6
sions of Federation.....	5	(3) in order	6
General Secretary—		(4) by Mr. Powers, that Indiana and	
election of	21	Michigan be represented on commit-	
Harmony Mills—		tee to chose next meeting-place.... 12	
resolution concerning goods of..... 17		(5) by Mr. Powers, that a committee	
Invitation—		invite Hon. M. A. Foran to address	
to banquet by trades and labor unions		the Congress	14
of Cleveland	21	(6) to strike out section 11 of the plat-	
Knights of Labor—		form of principles.....	14
representation of	16	(7) fixing per capita tax.....	16
Labor Journals—		(8) seating Mr. McIntosh as a regu-	
resolution to support	13	lar delegate	19
Legislative Committee—		(9) by W. H. Foster, to urge plasterers	
(1) shall consist of.....	5	to join union	21
(2) shall have supervision over..... 5		(10) to insert speech on "Protection	
(3) shall have separate organization... 5		vs. Wages" in the proceedings..... 22	
(4) chairman of Legislative Commit-		Name—	
tee shall preside over Congress un-		of organization	4
til President is chosen.....	5	Next meeting—	
(5) report of this committee is read		time of, place of.....	16, 17
at opening of meeting	5	Non-union Cigars—	
(6) shall have power to fill vacancy in		resolution condemning	22
office of secretary occurring between		Objects—	
annual meetings	5	of organization	4
(7) duties of	6	Officers—	
(8) shall co-operate with the local		what officers shall be elected..... 5	
committee of the next meeting place		Secretary shall be elected separately.. 5	
in making arrangements.....	6	Duties of	5
(9) sub-committee of Legislative Com-		Order of Business—	
mittee shall meet a week ahead of		report of committee on.....	13
Congress	6	Organization—	
(10) members of Legislative Commit-		name	4
tee shall be members of succeeding		objects of	4
Congress without vote.....	6	sessions, time of	4
(11) names of	7	representation, basis of.....	5
(12) report of	8	officers of	5
(13) election of	21	duties of officers of	5
(14) organization of	23	revenue	5
Local Unions—		accounts	5
may be entitled to representation on		report of committee on	22
payment of \$10 per annum and per		of Legislative Committee	23
capita	5	Pacific Corporation—	
Mass Meeting—		resolution concerning goods of..... 17	
by Cleveland Trades Assembly..... 2		Papers—	
Meeting, Annual	5	what kind may be read	5
date of meeting	5	no person can read two	5
time of sessions.....	5	must be sent to Secretary.....	5
place of meeting.....	5	Per Capita Tax—	
Meetings—		(1) overlooked by International Typo-	
no one shall leave the meetings except		graphical Union	8, 16
on special business.....	6	(2) fixed at one cent per annum..... 16	
Minutes—		Place of Next Meeting—	
of first day read	12	report of committee on.....	16
of second day read	16	Platform	3
of third day read	20	report of committee on.....	21
of fourth day read	23	Preamble	3

	Page	Resolution—	Page
President—			
first business of Congress shall be elec-		(10) of Mr. Gompers concerning Chi-	
tion of	5	nese immigration	17
Punishment—		(11) of Mr. Murch concerning eight-	
of members	6	hour day	18
Question—		(12) of Mr. Colliss endorsing the "El-	
(1) must be seconded before subject for		mira Telegram"	19
debate	6	(13) of Mr. Gompers, that women's	
(2) must be stated by chair.....	6	organizations be represented in fu-	
(3) must be written on request.....	6	ture Congresses	19
Remarks—		(14) on tenure of land.....	19
interruption of	6	(15) of Mr. Edmonston declaring po-	
Remuneration—		litical resistance to people holding	
of Legislative Committee shall be \$3		the lives and thoughts of people rep-	
per diem and expenses.....	5	resented in this Congress in subjec-	
Report—		tion	20
(1) of Legislative Committee shall con-		(16) of Mr. Clasby condemning over	
tain	5	zealous partisans	22
(2) of Legislative Committee as Com-		(17) of Mr. Gompers condemning non-	
mittee of Credentials	7	union cigars	22
(3) of Legislative Committee.....	8	(18) of Mr. Edmonston concerning the	
(4) of Secretary	11	work in District of Columbia.....	22
(5) of Auditing Committee.....	11	(19) of Mr. Powers concurring with	
(6) of Committee on Credentials.....	13	the action of the Seamen's Union of	
(7) of Committee on Order of Busi-		North America	23
ness	13	Resolution of Thanks—	
(8) of Committee on Standing Or-		to Cleveland city council.....	16
ders	14, 20	to trades unions and newspapers of	
(9) of Committee on Place of the next		Cleveland	23
meeting	16	Revenue—	
(10) of Committee on Revenue and Per		how derived	5
Capita Tax	21	per capita tax paid quarterly in advance	5
(11) of Committee on Platform.....	21	Revenue and Per Capita Tax—	
(12) of Committee on Organization...	22	report of committee on.....	21
(13) of Special Auditing Committee..	22	Rules	6
Representation—		Seaman's Union of North America—	
basis of	5	resolution concurring with.....	23
of Knights of Labor.....	16	Second Annual Session—	
resolution on representation of wo-		holding of	7
men	19	Secretary—	
Resolution—		elected at Congress.....	5
(1) concerning convention in Wash-		also shall be Secretary of Legislative	
ington	13	Committee	5
(2) of Mr. Grenell to support labor		report of	11
journals	13	Speaker—	
(3) of F. K. Foster concerning appren-		conduct when called to order.....	6
tice laws	13, 15	Speeches—	
(4) of F. K. Foster on Employer's Lia-		time allowed to	5
bility act	14, 15	Standing Orders	5
(5) of Mr. Howard concerning goods		amendments to	5
of the Pacific Corporation.....	17	report of committee on.....	14, 20
(6) of Mr. Gompers concerning goods		Suggestion—	
of the Harmony Mills.....	17	that minutes be taken in German....	12
(7) of Mr. Edmonston commending		Supplementary Resolutions—	
action of Mr. J. W. Perkins.....	17	regarding Chinese immigration.....	4
(8) of Mr. Gompers concerning the		for licensing stationary engineers.....	4
privileges of Labor associations....	17	for inspection of mines, factories, work-	
(9) of Mr. Gompers condemning the		shops, etc.	4
actions of some members of the New			
York Legislature	17		

	Page	Tenure of Land—	Page
Sessions—		resolution on	19
when to be held.....	4	Treasurer—	
date of	5	shall receive surplus money from a	
time of	5	Congress	6
Surplus Money—			
turned over to Treasurer of Legisla-			
tive Committee	6		

1883.

	Page	Invitation—	Page
Accounts—		to festival and banquet by Trades and	
closed fourteen days before a Congress	4	Labor Unions of New York and vi-	
balance sheet presented to Congress...	4	city	12
Address—		Legislative Committee—	
Mr. Gompers	6	names of	6
Mrs. Charlotte Smith.....	17	duties of	4
Mr. P. J. McGuire	14	report on credentials.....	6
Appeal—		report of	7, 8, 9
to workingmen to organize.....	10	Local Trades Unions—	
Committee—		entitled to representation by paying	
to draft an appeal to working men to		\$10 per annum	4
organize	10	Motion—	
Committee of Ways and Means—		given Mrs. Smith a seat as delegate..	7
appointment of	13	providing for the printing of proceed-	
report of	16	ings	13
Committee to Solicit Aid for Lady Telegra-		Name—	
phers out of employment—		of organization	4
appointment of	14	Objects—	
Committee on Revision of Plan of Organi-		of organization	4
zation—		Officers—	
appointment of	14	what officers to be elected.....	4
report adopted	15	election of	6, 16
Committee on Credentials—		Organization	4
report of Legislative Committee act-		name	4
ing as	6	objects	4
Committee on Standing Orders—		sessions	4
appointment of	7	representation	4
report of	9	officers	4
discussion of	9	duties of officers	4
Communication—		revenue	4
(1) from Mr. Jarrett.....	16	accounts	4
(2) to Mr. Jarrett.....	18	remuneration	4
(3) to working girls and women.....	19	Place of Next Meeting—	
(4) from "Paterson Standard".....	15	choosing of	15
(5) from Senate Committee on educa-		Platform	3
tion and labor.....	11, 15	Preamble	3
Credentials—		Recommendation—	
report of committee on.....	6, 16	to embody benevolent provisions in the	
Delegates—		constitutions of labor organizations.	
names of	5, 6		13, 15
Mrs. Smith given seat as.....	7	Remuneration—	
Discussion—		shall be \$3 per diem and expenses....	4
as to place of next meeting.....	15	Report—	
Duties—		(1) of Legislative Committee.....	7, 8, 9
of Legislative Committee.....	4	discussion of	13
Election—		adoption of report as amended....	13
of officers	6, 16	(2) of treasurer	10
Essay—			
\$50 offered for best.....	13		

Representation—	Page	Resolution—	Page
basis of	4	labor statistics; offered.....	10
Resolution—		discussed	11
(1) that union of labor organizations is essential; offered, discussed and adopted	9	substituted accepted	11
(2) granting to all international labor organizations representation in Congress and appointing a committee to arrange the same; offered.....	9	(12) by Mr. Gompers, recommending the payment of per capita tax.....	16
substitute offered	9, 10	(13) concerning Seamen's Home.....	17
amendment offered to substitute..	12	(14) concerning government telegraphy offered	11
substitute as amended adopted....	12	discussed	12
(3) favoring the establishment of a government bureau of labor statistics	14	adopted	12
(4) concerning convict labor	14	(15) concerning tenement-house cigar bill	13
(5) concerning strikes	14	(16) for organizing factory operatives.	13
(6) concerning eight-hour day.....	14, 16	(17) by Mr. Bland, condemning a rule practised by the Western Union Telegraph Co., offered and adopted.....	7
(7) for increasing dues.....	15	Resolutions of Thanks—	
(8) complimentary to Mr. Gompers, to New York Trades and Labor Unions and to press.....	16	to Senators Voorhees and Conger....	12
(9) recommending that union men use union-made cigars	14	to out-going Legislative Committee...	17
(10) inviting U. S. Senate Committee on Education and Labor to be present at meetings of the Federation and providing for a committee of ten to lay the wants of the Federation before the committee; offered.....	10	Revenue—	
substitute offered and adopted....	10	from each National or International trade or labor union.....	4
(11) by G. Edmonston. That a committee visit the conventions of the two political parties and demand from them a statement in their platforms of their positions with regard to the eight-hour law, national labor organizations, and a national bureau of		from local unions	4
		from state or provincial unions.....	4
		Rules.....	5
		Sessions—	
		time of	4
		place of	4
		Standing orders	4, 5
		Supplementary Resolutions—	
		for licensing stationary engineers....	3
		inspection of mines, factories, workshops, etc.	3
		Third Annual Session—	
		holding of	6
		Treasurer—	
		report of	10

1884.

Accounts—	Page	Legislative Committee—	Page
closed fourteen days before a Congress	5	appointed to act as Committee on Credentials	7
Address—		report on credentials.....	7
Mr. O. Sullivan.....	9	report of	9, 10, 11, 12, 13
Mr. Julius Grinell.....	9	election and names of.....	19
Mark L. Crawford.....	7	Name—	
Amendment—		of organization.....	4
to Section I of Platform of Principles...	18	Object—	
to Section XII of Platform of Principles	18	of organization	4
to Article III of organization.....	18	Objection—	
Auditors—		to credentials of Jacob Selig.....	7, 9
report of	16	Officers—	
final report of	18	election of	7, 18
Commissioner of Labor Statistics—		what officers shall be elected.....	4
Mr. Donath suggested for.....	15	what committees shall be appointed....	4
Committee on Resolutions—		Order of Business.....	5
appointment of	14	Organization—	
report of	14, 15, 16	name	4
Committee—		object	4
what ones shall be appointed.....	4	sessions	4
Committee on the Report of Legislative Committee—		representation	4
appointment of	13	officers	4
report of	17	duties of officers	4
Committee to Award Prize for Essay—		revenue	5
report progress	15	accounts	5
granted extension of ninety days....	17	strike benefits	5
Committee of Standing Orders—		Platform	3, 4
appointment of	8	Preamble	3
report of	8, 14, 17	Remuneration—	
Communication—		\$3 per diem and expenses.....	5
(1) from the Cigarmakers' International Union	7, 8	Report—	
(2) from New Jersey Eight-hour League	9	of Robert Howard	9
(3) from Amalgamated Labor Unions of New York	14	of auditor	16, 18
(4) from New York Trades and Labor Assembly	15	of committee appointed at third Congress to raise funds for lady telegraphers	8
(5) from J. P. McDonnell.....	15	of Treasurer	19
Credentials—		Representation—	
report of committee on.....	7	who is entitled to	4
of Jacob Selig not allowed.....	7, 9	basis of	4
Duties—		Resolution—	
of committees	4	(1) to print daily report of proceedings	9
Delegates—		(2) that beginning May 1, 1886, the legal work-day shall be eight hours.	14
names of	6	(3) concerning the limiting of the hours of females and minors working in textile industries.....	14
Election—		(4) protesting against Pres. Arthur's refusal to appoint a chief of the labor bureau of statistics	14
of officers	7, 18	(5) outlining business for next Congress	16
Invitation—		(6) favoring the distribution of copies of the report of the Committee on Education and Labor	16
from Chicago Trades and Labor assembly to banquet	15		

Resolution—	Page	Rules	Page
(7) that Knights of Labor be invited to co-operate in the movement for eight-hour day	17	Secret Session	18
(8) concerning inter-state commerce bill	17	Sessions—	
(9) endorsing Mr. Foran as representative for re-election	17	time of	4
substitute adopted	18	place of	4
(10) favoring a boycott of the New York Tribune	8	Standing orders	5, 6
(11) favoring labor exchanges	14	Strike Benefits	5
(12) concerning "child labor"	15	Supplementary Resolution—	
(13) demanding passage of Foran bill ..	15	licensing stationary engineers, inspecting mines, work-shops, etc. Returning land not earned by corporations to public domain	4
(14) favoring laborers' national holiday	16	Treasurer—	
(15) concerning foreign contract labor	16	report of	19
(16) denouncing the action of the Supreme Court of New York with regard to the tenement-house cigar bill ..	18	Vote of Thanks—	
Revenue—		to Messrs. Howard, Foster and Hugh J. Carroll	9
how derived	5	to United States Senators and Representatives	16
		to retiring officers and to Chicago Trades Assembly	19

1885.

Accounts—	Page	Committee on Legislative Committee's Report—	Page
closed fourteen days before a Congress ..	5	appointment of	10
Address—		report of	18
by J. W. Smith	7	Committee on Prize Essay—	
Hon. Martin A. Foran	7	report of	11
Hon. Wm. H. Cole	13	Communication—	
Amendment—		from Richard Powers	8
demanding education of children to fourteenth year, and prohibiting them from working in mills and mines, etc., before that age	18	from P. J. McGuire	9
Apprentices—		Credentials—	
report of positions with regard to law of	14	of Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, received	10
Arbitration—		report of committee on	8
board of	5	Delegates—	
report of position with regard to	14	names of	6
Auditors—		Duties—	
report of	20	of committees	5
Benefits—		Election—	
strike	5	of officers	8, 18
Board of Arbitration	5	Executive Session	14
Committee on Standing Orders—		Extra Session	18
appointment of	8	Financial Statement	21
report of	17	Foreign Contract Labor	8
Committee on Labor—		Invitation—	
report of Senate's	9	to visit Labor Bureau	8
Committee on Resolutions—		to mass meeting	15
appointment of	10	Knights of Labor—	
report of	13, 14, 15	asked to help in eight-hour day movement	9
Committee on Finance—		Legislative Committee—	
appointment of	10	appointed to act on credentials	7
report of	16, 20	report on credentials	8

Meeting—	Page	Resolution—	Page
next place of	19	(7) making Associated Labor Press official organ of the Federation	14
Mass Meeting—		(8) against abuse of boycott	12, 15
invitation to	15	(9) endorsing the union label for cigars and asking the friends of organized labor to smoke nothing else ..	15
Motion—		(10) urging the passage of a measure declaring Pinkerton's Preventive Patrol illegal	15
that Mrs. Smith have floor without a vote	8	(11) for taking steps to convince the president that Judge Snell should be removed from office	15
Name—		(12) endorsing hand-made cans of the Can-makers' Mutual Protective Association	15
of organization	4	(13) favoring the abolishment of the contract system on national and state work	15
Next Place of Meeting—		(14) that delegates be sent to conventions of National and International Unions to invite them to send delegates to Federation	15
discussion of	19	(15) concerning boycott	16
Objects—		(16) favoring special tax so as to give more power to the Federation	16
of organization	4	(17) denouncing convict labor	17
Officers—		(18) to boycott "Philadelphia Press" ..	17
what officers are to be elected	4	(19) to urge wood-working machine hands to organize	17
restrictions upon them	18	(20) complaining that the Chinese immigration law is being avoided	17
election of	18	(21) for new labor party in politics ..	18
Order of Business	6	(22) urging women workers to organize	18
Organization and Constitution	4	(23) favoring restriction of alien land ownership	18
name	4	(24) condemning the system of employment based on political opinion as used in the government printing office	19
objects	4	(25) urging the speaker of the House of Representatives to put men on Labor Committee in whom organized labor has trust	20
sessions	4	Returns—	
representation	4	of the vote on the strike law and eight hour day	9
officers	4	Revenue—	
duties of officers	5	how derived	5
revenue	5	Rules	6
accounts	5	Secretary—	
strike benefits	5	report of	8
board of arbitration	5	Sessions—	
Platform	3	time of	4
Preamble	3	place of	4
Proceedings—		executive	14
sale of	9	extra	18
Remuneration—		Standing Orders	5, 6
\$3 per diem and expenses	5	Statement—	
Report—		financial	21
of Secretary	8		
of Senate Committee on Labor	9		
of steps taken to substitute arbitration for strikes and to provide proper education for apprentices	14		
of auditors	20		
Representation—			
who is entitled to	4		
basis of	4		
Resignation—			
of W. W. McClelland	9		
Resolution—			
(1) that the date for voting on the strike law be extended to March 1, 1886	11		
(2) extending time for submitting essays sixty days	11		
(3) favoring a boycott on the New York Tribune	11		
(4) concerning eight-hour day	12, 16		
(5) favoring international agreement as to length of hours, etc.	14		
(6) urging establishment of official journal	14		

Strike—	Page	Vote of Thanks—	Page
benefits	5	to Mr. M. A. Foran.....	7
law	9	to Wm. H. Cole	13
Surplus Money—		to Washington Press	18
handed over to Treasurer of Legisla-		to retiring President	20
tive Committee	5	to retiring Legislative Committee.....	20

1886.

Address—	Page	Legislative Committee	Page
by Mr. Grafton Pierce.....	5	Credentials	5
by Samuel Gompers	5	report on credentials	5
American Federation of Labor—		Meeting—	
federation of organized trades and labor		change of	8
unions of the United States and Can-		of Sixth Annual Congress of Organ-	
ada merged into	10	ized Trades and Labor Unions of the	
Appointment—		United States and Canada.....	5
of Mr. Kirchner as Secretary.....	6	Officers, election of.....	5
Auditors—		Official Journal	7
report of	11	Pinkerton Police	7
Change of Meeting.....	8	Political Action	8
Chinese Emigration Law	7	President—	
Committee on Standing Orders—		election of	5
appointment of	8	Prize Essay	7
members of	8	Recommendation—	
Committee on Resolutions—		merging the Federation of Organized	
appointment of	8	Trades and Labor Unions of the	
members of	8	United States and Canada with the	
report of	9	American Federation of Labor.....	10
Committee on Legislative Committee's Re-		Report—	
port—		of Finance Committee.....	10, 11
appointment of	8	of Auditing Committee.....	11
members of	8	of Chairman of the Committee of the	
report of	10	Whole	9
Committee on Finance—		of Legislative Committee.....	6, 7, 8, 9
appointment of	8	of Resolution Committee.....	9
members of	8, 9	of Committee on Legislative Commit-	
report of	10, 11	tee's Report	10
Communication—		Resolution—	
from Cuban Federation of Cigarmakers	8	(1) that Federation take part in the	
from Amalgamated Society of Engi-		proceedings of the Trades Union	
neers	8	Conference as a Committee of the	
Constitutional Amendments	7	Whole	9
Death—		(2) concerning eight-hour day.....	9
of W. H. Foster.....	6	(3) urging Congress to enact such laws	
Eight-hour Law and Contract Work.....	6	as will secure the end sought after	
Eight-hour Movement	6	by the printers of this country.....	9
Election—		(4) concerning apprentices	9
of President	5	(5) to request all affiliated unions to	
of officers	5	connect themselves with the Ameri-	
Incorporation—		can Federation of Labor.....	9
of trades unions	6	Secretary—	
International Labor Laws.....	7	J. S. Kirchner appointed.....	6
Knights of Labor and Federation.....	8	State Labor Legislation.....	7
Labor Day	7	Strikes	7
Legislative Committee—		Trades Unions—	
report of	6, 7, 8, 9	growth of	6
appointed to act as a Committee of		incorporation of	6

1886.—A. F. of L.

Amendments	Page	Motion—	Page
Committee on Conference with the Legisla-	4	to exclude reporters from sessions....	13
tive Committee of the Federation of Trade—		that any member of a union who is	
appointment of	15	not a reporter shall be entitled to ad-	
report of	20	mission as a visitor.....	13
Committee on Credentials—		Name—	
appointment of	12	of organization	3
members of	12, 13, 14	Next Meeting—	
report of	12	place of	17
Committee on Rules and Order of Business—		Objects—	
appointment of	13	of organization	3
members of	13	Officers—	
report of	14	election of	20
Committee on Permanent Organization—		what ones shall be elected	3
appointment of	13	action in case of vacancy.....	3
members of	13	Order of Business.....	14
report of	13	Place of Next Meeting.....	17
Committee on Resolutions—		Power—	
appointment of	13	of Legislative Committee.....	4
members of	13	Preamble	3
report of	15, 16	Remuneration—	
Committee on Constitution—		of Legislative Committee shall be \$3	
appointment of	13	per diem and expenses.....	4
members of	13	Report—	
report of	17	of Committee on Rules.....	14
Communications	13, 15	of Committee on Conference with Com-	
from Hatters' National Union.....	17	mittee of the Knights of Labor....	17
Communication of Greeting—		of Standing Trades Union Committee.	15
to workmen in New York.....	15	Representation—	
Communication of Sympathy.....	13, 15	who is entitled to.....	3
Constitution—		basis of	3
name	3	Resolution—	
objects	3	(1) to help barbers and waiters to or-	
convention	3	ganize	17
representation	3	(2) concerning Chinese immigration..	17
officers	3	(3) in favor of boycotting the New	
executive council	3	York Tribune, Cleveland Daily	
revenue	4	Leader and Evening News.....	18
miscellaneous	4	(4) favoring shorter hours of labor..	19
amendments	4	(5) to appoint committee to confer	
report of committee on.....	17	with a committee from the Congress	
Convention—		of the Federation of Trades.....	15
time of	3	(6) concerning the Foster Memorial	
place of	3	Association	16
Delegate—		(7) concerning independent political	
A. Strasser made	13	movement of the workmen.....	16
Discussion—		(8) requesting congress to pass a bill	
on the necessity of a Federation.....	13	destroying the right of a United	
Election—		States soldier to compete with citi-	
of officers	20	zens of any trade.....	16
Executive Council—		(9) condemning the acts of the Knights	
who composes	3	of Labor	19
duties of	4	(10) condemning blacklisting	19
Expenditure—		(11) concerning apprentice laws	19
how governed	4	(12) urging Congress to declare Pink-	
Invitation—		erton Preventive Patrol illegal.....	19
to visit the State Institutions.....	15	(13) concerning indiscriminate appro-	
Legislative Committee—		priations in strikes	19
power of	4	(14) favoring union labels	19

	Page		Page
(15) providing for the publication of the proceedings	20	Temporary Secretary—	
(16) that the newly elected officers take charge of the organization until next convention	20	nomination of	12
Revenue—		Trades Assembly—	
how derived	4	organization of	4
Rules	14	Treaty—	
Temporary Chairman—		presented to the Knights of Labor....	16
nomination of	12	Vacancy—	
		procedure in case of.....	3
		Vote of Thanks—	
		to officers of convention.....	20

1887.

	Page		Page
Addition—		Committee on Rules—	
to Committee on Report of Executive Council	19	appointment of	12
Address—		members of	12
by Prof. Richard T. Ely.....	25	report of	16
by W. G. F. Price.....	32	Committee on Resolutions—	
by Harry Ogden	32	appointment of	12
by P. J. McGuire	33	members of	12
by Samuel Gompers	33	report of	28, 29, 30, 31, 32
by W. R. Cremer.....	18	Committee on Finance—	
by Isaac Wood	20	appointment of	12
by Mayor Latrobe	7	members of	12
by Samuel Gompers	7	report of	25
by N. B. Talbot.....	7	Committee on Report of Executive Council—	
Amendments—		appointment of	12
(1) how effected	5	members of	12
(2) to report of Committee on Report of Executive Council	26	addition to	19
(3) to report of the Committee on Labels and Boycotts.....	28	report of	25
(4) to Constitution as reported by Committee on Constitution.....	21, 22, 23, 24, 25	Committee on Milwaukee Brewers' Case—	
Appointment—		appointment of	17
of Sergeant-at-Arms	8	members of	17
of messenger	8	report of	19
Appropriation—		Committee on Labels, Boycotts and Organization—	
to Thos. A. Armstrong and Wm. H. Foster Monumental Associations....	32	appointment of	21
Bill—		members of	21
introduced by Mr. Foran in House of Representatives	32	report of	27
Boycott—		Committee on Credentials—	
of "Philadelphia Tageblatt"	11	appointment of	7
Brewers—		members of	7
trouble of the Milwaukee Brewers....	17	report of	7, 12, 21
Case—		Communication	20
of the New York Shoemakers.....	15	(1) from Knights of Labor.....	27
Chinese Immigration—		(2) from Hon. Martin A. Foran.....	20
communication from San Francisco with regard to the evils of.....	23	(3) with regard to evils of Chinese immigration	23
Committee on Constitution—		(4) from Halley Stewart.....	17, 18
appointment of	12	(5) from Amsterdam, N. Y. in regard to union label	24
members of	12	(6) from England	17
report of	21, 22	(7) from Russian-American National League	17
		(8) from National Typographical Union of France	17
		(9) from New Haven Trades Council. 17	

	Page	Name—	Page
Constitution—		of organization	3
name	3	Objects—	
object	3	of organization	3
convention	3	Officers—	
representation	3	election of	26, 27
officers	4	what officers shall there be.....	4
duties of officers	4	procedure in case of a vacancy.....	4
Executive Council	4	duties of	4
revenue	4	Official Journal	11
miscellaneous	4	Order of Business	16
amendments	5	Preamble	3
amendments to	21, 22, 23, 24, 25	Presentation—	
Convention—		of cane to P. J. McGuire.....	32
place for holding next.....	27	President—	
time of	3	report of	8, 9, 10, 11, 12
place of	3	Press—	
committees in	3	appointment of a Committee on the Press	15
Delegates—		Report—	
names of	5, 6	(1) of Committee on Constitution..	21, 22
E. W. Oyster and J. Harvey refused seats as delegates.....	8, 21	(2) of Committee on Labels and Boycotts	27
Discussion—		(3) of Committee on Milwaukee Brewers' Case	19
of report of Committee on Report of Executive Council	26	(4) of Executive Council..	8, 9, 10, 11, 12
as to place of next convention.....	27	(5) of Committee on Resolutions....	28, 29, 30, 31, 32
of report of Constitution Committee..	21, 22, 23, 24, 25	(6) of Treasurer	13, 14, 15
Duties—		(7) Committee on Finance.....	25
of officers	4	(8) of Committee on Report of Executive Council	25, 26
Election—		(9) of President	8, 9, 10, 11, 12
of officers	26, 27	Representation—	
Exclusion—		basis of	3
of Washington delegates.....	8	who is entitled to	3
Executive Council—		Resolutions—	
who shall compose	4	(1) in regard to police interference at public meetings of workmen, read and referred	18
powers of	4	report on	29
report of	8, 9, 10, 11, 12	(2) to organize Bakers' Unions, read and referred	18
Federal Labor Unions.....	10	(3) against having two local or national trade organizations in the same jurisdiction, read and referred	18
Federation of Knights of Labor.....	10	report on	29
Foran Bill	32	(4) urging adoption of eight-hour work day, read and referred	18
Invitation—		report on	29
(1) to annual ball of the Brewers' Union of Baltimore	19	(5) to denounce the action of the New York Ballroom and Barkeepers' Association in its outrageous employment of non-union men, read and referred	18
(2) to attend levee of Cigarmakers' Union	7	report on	29
Labels—		(6) to print name of American Federation of Labor on all circulars, etc., of affiliated bodies, read and referred	18, 19
list of endorsed labels	28	report on	29
Labor—			
(1) is being displaced by machinery..	9		
(2) hours of	9		
List—			
of endorsed labels	28		
Motion—			
(1) that the names and addresses of the chief officers of the organizations represented be inserted in the proceedings	25		
(2) to amend Constitution	24		
(3) for appropriations to Armstrong and Foster Monumental Associations. 32			
(4) concerning proceedings	33		

Resolution—	Page	Resolutions—	Page
(7) House Bill No. 11,185. A bill to relieve the laboring classes and to improve their condition permanently, read and referred.....	19	(26) Douglass Shoes, read and referred.....	20
report on.....	29	red.....	20
(8) House Bill No. 11,186. A bill to prevent speculation in the coal lands of the United States, read and referred.....	19	report on.....	28
report on.....	29	(27) thanks to press, read and referred. 20	
(9) against admitting into the Federation any union which has been suspended by any national or international organization, read and referred.....	19	(28) smuggled clothing, read and referred.....	20
(10) state charters, read and referred. 19		(29) The Blair Educational Bill, read and referred.....	20
(11) changes in constitution, read and referred.....	19	report on.....	30
(12) against resolutions of sympathy and in favor of practical help, read and referred.....	19	(30) Progressive Tailors' label, read and referred.....	20
report on.....	29	report on.....	27, 28
(13) changes in Constitution, read and referred.....	19	(31) New York Tribune boycott, read and referred.....	20
(14) in favor of independent political action, read and referred.....	19	report on.....	28
report on.....	30	(32) in regard to organization, read and referred.....	20
(15) changes in Constitution, read and referred.....	19	(33) indorsement of labels, read and referred.....	20
(16) to encourage all union labels, read and referred.....	19	report on.....	27, 28
report on.....	27, 28	(34) organization of the Pacific Coast, read and referred.....	20
(17) to endorse the label of Umbrella, Pipe and Cane Workers, read and referred.....	19	report on.....	31
report on.....	27, 28	(35) German Printers' label, read and referred.....	20
(18) Cigar Makers' International Union label, read and referred.....	19	report on.....	27, 28
report on.....	27, 28	(36) label of Tight-work Coopers, read and referred.....	20
(19) in favor of compulsory education and that the science of government be taught in public schools, read and referred.....	19	report on.....	27, 28
report on.....	30	(37) internal revenue tax on cigars, read and referred.....	21
(20) Chinese Immigration, read and referred.....	20	report on.....	31
report on.....	30	(38) in regard to memory of the late Thos. A. Armstrong, read and referred.....	21
(21) employment of U. S. bands, read and referred.....	20	report on.....	31
report on.....	30	(39) international arbitration, read and referred.....	25
(22) political action, read and referred. 20		report on.....	31
(23) oyster culture, read and referred. 20		(40) Chicago printers' strike, read and referred.....	25
report on.....	30	report on.....	31, 32
(24) Shoemakers' labels, etc., read and referred.....	20	(41) attempted boycott on New York "Sun," read and referred.....	17
report on.....	27, 28	report on.....	28
(25) incompetent masters of vessels, read and referred.....	20	(42) friendly relations with European trade unions.....	30
report on.....	30	(43) the extradition treaty with Russia.....	30
		(44) wages of employees in government printing office.....	32
		(45) unification of labor.....	32
		(46) labor's general holiday.....	32
		(47) vote of thanks—to press, mayor and people of Baltimore, Calumet Club, Brush Electric Co., Federated Trades Union of Baltimore and all labor organizations of Baltimore....	32
		(48) favoring a boycott on Milwaukee beer.....	19

	Page		Page
Revenue.....	11	Substitute—	
how derived.....	4	to sections in Constitution.....	
accounts.....	4	21, 22, 23, 24, 25	
remuneration.....	4	Treasurer—	
Rules.....	16	report of.....	13, 14, 15
Shoemakers—		Vote of Thanks—	
case of New York.....	15	to organizations and people of Baltimore.....	32
Strikes—			
of Brewers.....	11		

1888.

	Page		Page
Address—		Committee on Finance—	
by S. S. Bass.....	7	appointment of.....	15
by Prof. C. M. Woodward.....	7	members of.....	15
by Samuel Gompers.....	7, 30	report of.....	26
Aid—		Committee on Organization—	
appeal for.....	10	appointment of.....	15
Amendment—		members of.....	15
(1) to report of Committee on President's Report.....	18	report of.....	20
(2) to report of Committee on Eight-hour work day.....	25	Committee on Resolutions—	
(3) to report of Committee on Constitution.....	23, 24	appointment of.....	15
(4) to report of Committee on Rules. 8		members of.....	15
(5) how Constitution may be amended 5		report of.....	26, 27, 28
(6) to Constitution.....	29	Committee on Labels and Boycotts—	
Appeal—		appointment of.....	15
for aid.....	10	members of.....	15
Appropriation—		report of.....	24, 25
to Mr. P. J. McGuire.....	28	Committee on Credentials—	
Banquet.....	32	appointment of.....	7
Boycott—		members of.....	7
(1) on Douglas Shoe Co. lifted.....	22	report progress.....	7
(2) declared on:		report of.....	7
"New York Tribune".....	22	Committee on Rules—	
Milwaukee and New York Pool Beer.....	22	appointment of.....	7
S. F. Hess & Co.'s cigars.....	22	members of.....	7
Dilworth Bros.' coffee.....	22	report of.....	7, 8
Roigg & Lansdorf's cigars.....	23	Communication.....	23, 15, 16, 30
Conn. Valley Cigar Co.....	28	(1) from International Progressive Tailors Union.....	19
Case—		(2) from France.....	19
of Musical Union of Baltimore.....	28	(3) from R. H. Cowdrey, Cincinnati, Ohio.....	20
Child Labor.....	12	(4) from Tailors' Progressive Union..	23
Committee on President's Report—		Congresses—	
appointment of.....	15	of labor.....	14
members of.....	15	Constitution—	
report of.....	16, 17, 21	(1) name.....	3
Committee on Secretary's Report—		objects.....	3
appointment of.....	15	convention.....	3
members of.....	15	representation.....	3
report of.....	19	officers.....	4
Committee on Constitution—		duties of officers.....	4
appointment of.....	15	Executive Council.....	4
members of.....	15	revenue.....	4
report of.....	23, 24		

	Page		Page
Constitution—		Labor Congresses	14
miscellaneous	4, 5	Labor Law	10
amendments	5	Laws—	
(2) amendments to	29	of labor	10
Convention—		Letters—	
place of next	30	of sympathy and co-operation	32
time of	3	Memorials—	
place of	3	Foster and Armstrong memorials	13
committees in	3	Miners	12
Delegates—		Motion—	
names and addresses of	5, 6	to fix the date for the inauguration of	
O. R. Lake and E. C. Ives admitted to		the eight-hour work day at May 1,	
seats as	15	1890	25
Discussion—		Musical Union of Baltimore—	
(1) of report of Committee on Presi-		case of	28
dent's Report	18, 21	Name—	
(2) of report of Committee on Secre-		of organization	3
tary's Report	20	Objects—	
(3) of report of Committee on Con-		of organization	3
stitution	23, 24	Officers—	
(4) of report of Committee on Eight-		(1) Names of the officers of the Amer-	
Hour Work Day	25	ican Federation of Labor	2
(5) of report of Committee on Or-		(2) officers shall consist of	4
ganization	21	(3) procedure in case of a vacancy	4
Disputes—		(4) election of	29
of trades	11	Official Journal	11, 28
Duties—		Order of Business	8
of officers	4	Organizers	12
Education	13	Place for holding next convention	30
Eight-Hour Work Day	9	Political Action	13
Eight-Hour League—		Preamble	3
formation of	30	President—	
Election—		report of	8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15
of officers	29	Proceedings—	
Exclusion—		of the meetings of the Executive Coun-	
of the Amalgamated Carpenters	19	cil American Federation of Labor	31, 33
Executive Council—		Progress—	
(1) proceedings of the meetings of		of Federation	9
the	31, 33	Report—	
(2) shall consist of	4	(1) of President	8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15
(3) powers of	4	(2) financial report for six months	
Female labor	12	ending May 28, 1888	34, 35, 36, 37
Financial Reports—		(3) financial report for quarter ending	
of six months ending May 28, 1888		November 30, 1888	38, 39
of three months ending Nov. 30, 1888	34, 35, 36, 37	(4) of Committee on Organization	20
of three months ending Aug. 31, 1888	38, 39	(5) of Committee on Labels and Boy-	
of three months ending Aug. 31, 1888	40, 41	cotts	21, 22, 28
Formation—		(6) of Committee on Constitution	23, 24
of eight-hour league	30	(7) financial report of quarter ending	
Foster and Armstrong Memorials	13	August 31, 1888	40, 41
Hours—		(8) of Committee on Eight-Hour Work	
of labor reduced	9	Day	24, 25
Industrial Divisions	14	(9) of Committee on Finance	26
Invitation—		(10) of Committee on Resolutions	26, 27, 28
to visit the Famous Shoe and Clothing		(11) of Committee on Organization	28
Co.	23	(12) of Secretary	18
Labor—		(13) of Committee on Secretary's Re-	
reduction in hours of	9	port	19
		(14) of Treasurer	16

	Page		Page
Report—		Resolution—	
(15) of Committee on President's Re-		labor unions of St. Louis	28
port	16, 17, 21	(27) boycott Connecticut Valley Cigar	
Representation—		Co.	28
basis of	3	(28) labor of children in orphan asy-	
who is entitled to	3	lums	29
Resolution—		(29) labor papers requested to advo-	
(1) to sustain objection against the ad-		cate the eight-hour movement	29
mission of the Amalgamated Society		(30) legal protection of union labels	29
of Carpenters raised by the United		(31) circular for general vote	29
Brotherhood of Carpenters and Join-		(32) affiliate with local central bodies	29
ers	19	(33) appreciation of "The New Order"	29
(2) financial aid for the brewers	21	(34) endorsing the eight-hour move of	
(3) boycott "The New York Tribune"	22	the carpenters of St. Louis	29
(4) boycott Milwaukee and New York		(35) supporting the German printers in	
pool beer	22	upholding eight hours	29
(5) boycott S. F. Hess Co.'s cigars	22	(36) supporting Bakers' Union No. 49,	
(6) boycott Dilworth Bros.' coffee	22	of Chicago	29
(7) boycott Roigg & Lansdorf's cigars	23	(37) eight hours' pay on government	
(8) endorsing union labels	23	work	29
(9) concerning industrial divisions	24	(38) fine for withdrawal	29
(10) relating to internal controversies	24	(39) labor legislation	29
(11) concerning eight-hour work day	25	Revenue—	
(12) ballot reform	26	how derived	4
(13) appointment of a public printer	26	accounts	4
(14) conspiracy laws	26	remuneration	4
(15) prison labor products	26	Secretary—	
(16) favoring abolishment of the con-		report of	18
tract system on public work	26	Strike	11
(17) armed hirelings and police inter-		assessment for	10, 11
ference in strikes	27	Trades Disputes	11
(18) protection to the employees in the		Treasurer—	
oyster trade	27	report of	16
(19) foreign contract labor	27	Trustees—	
(20) Sunday labor	27	choosing of	30
(21) testimonial to J. P. McDonnell	27	Vacancy—	
(22) compulsory education	27	procedure in case of a vacancy	4
(23) dual organization in one trade	27	*Vote of Thanks—	
(24) advertising the Federation	27	to P. J. McGuire	27
(25) vote of thanks to P. J. McGuire	27	to citizens and labor unions of St.	
(26) vote of thanks to the citizens and		Louis	28